ORIGIN TRADITIONS, MIGRATIONS, AND HISTORY

ORIGIN TRADITIONS

I

539 Omogoi, the clever, bad-tempered, and wilful son of Kayarang, lived among the Buryat. He had three wives, four sons, two daughters, and many daughters-in-law. Whenever he became dissatisfied and felt hostile to his clan he cherished the idea that he would seek a suitable home at some distance. So, one time he induced the members of his family and his clan who also wanted to go to a new place, to emigrate, driving their cattle before them.

Soon they reached the Great River (the Lena) and moved up its valley, losing their "writings" en route. They came to a suitable place and said, "We have gone far enough; this is a good country," and settled there. They discovered a small lake nearby and named it Saisary. Omogoi-Bai-Toyon (i.e., the rich lord, Omogoi) became the leader and elder of the people (or Elliei).

When Omogoi abandoned his clan he left behind his brother, Elliei, who was then a small boy; but when he grew up, he resembled Omogoi in every way. He too was at odds with his clansmen and left them, setting off without a specific goal. He had traveled a long distance when he found an abandoned fireplace and thought that since someone had already passed that way, he too would continue along the same route. He arrived at the Great River (the Lena) and the settlement of Omogoi-Bai-Toyon, where he decided to remain.

He wanted to marry one of Omogoi's two daughters and hid himself to watch them urinate. He noticed that the younger daughter passed her urine with foam and that the older did not. The older daughter was pretty; the younger ugly. He thought, the one who urinated with foam will be a fertile wife, the other will be childless. So he asked Omogoi for his younger daughter. She bore him many children, while the older one remained childless.

Thus they lived very happily on the Saisary plain. Neither their children nor the cattle they reared died. Omogoi and Elliei became very rich and their descendants were the leaders of the tribe.

Tygyn, the son of Darkan, the elder of the people, lived on the river and the plain in wealth and comfort. He had many sons and daughters and other relatives.

At that time there were few adjacent settlements and the large extent of territory occupied consisted mainly of hunting reserves where sables, foxes, squirrels, reindeer, and bears were hunted. When Tygyn's people learned of the excellent hunting grounds, they settled there in small groups and lived on the products of the chase.

In course of time they increased in number and lost all knowledge of their ancestry. Their language changed and even the former name of the tribe was forgotten. The shamans were esteemed and feared as are now the Christian priests. They instilled their teachings through the medium of songs, for example, "You, the crowd of the Sakh-Spirit, help, save, and benefit us; show us the sun and moon." And while they performed, the shamans said to the people, "The spirit named Sakh brings blessings and salvation to all." The people accepted this and said, "Sakh knows," much as is said, "God knows." Everyone believed and honored the spirit the shamans called, Sakh, and as a sign of good faith, they said, "We are the people of Sakh and our name shall be Sakha." Evidently they adopted this name because they had forgotten their tribal appellation.

However, the Sakha (Yakut) of that time had some conception of God, as is evident from their frequent addresses to the Ār-Toyón, Ayī-Toyón, Kyun-Kyubei-Khotun, and Dshesyugei-Ayī. They prayed, standing erect and facing the east, or bowed to the ground.

The ancient Yakut called their blood relatives *dshuortu* but this term has been replaced by the Russian *brat* (brother). At present only a few people know the word *dshuortu* or attribute a different meaning to it.

Blood relatives, i.e., the *dshuortular*[1], did not marry, regarding it as a sin. A rich man took three wives from alien clans, paying high brideprices; a man of ordinary resources had two wives; a poor man had one wife. There were cases when a strong man killed the husband of a handsome woman and took her with his riches. Polygamy originated from the desire for many children, so when one wife died another one was taken in her place.

When parents grew senile, horse guts were thrust into their mouths to prevent them from uttering a word and all the burial ceremonies were held.

The old time Yakut regarded water-rats as the best food and next in order of preference were the placentæ of cows and horses. They donned their best clothing, bowed over the food, and prayed as follows: "Dshesyugei-Ayī gave it to us and will give it to us in the future." They believed that the prayer would insure the increase of cattle and horses.

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[1] Plural of *dshuortu*.

Even the laity understood the prayers and blessings; thus a prayer was repeated when a new daughter-in-law joined the family; when a child was born; when the *Isyākh* (kumiss festival) was arranged; for cattle; on the initiation of a hunt; and when a storm was imminent.

In conformity with present practices, the richest men were *ulus* heads, and the strong men were *nasleg* elders.[1] No form of trial was known. They usually killed people who were hostilly disposed toward them, or who offended their friends, instead of trying them before a court, or took from them by force whatever they desired. For his own aggrandizement, the strong man, when he was poor, complied with the demands of the rich and fulfilled their commissions. He who was feeble and weak lived in constant terror and only in a matter of life and death was a struggle with the rich and strong countenanced.

Formerly, wealthy individuals were drawn by three white horses, wore white *dokhas* (overcoats of reindeer skins), and carried white staffs in their hands. To drive nine horses to a remote place and leave them, constituted a sacrifice. The very rich made this sacrifice three times, the moderately rich twice, and those in ordinary circumstances only once. Thus the rich acquired fame and distinction, receiving favorable discrimination. The poor man, trying to imitate these boastingly offered sacrifices, often lost all his cattle and despoiled himself of all his possessions, to end in beggary.

When the Yakut first reached Saisary they were accompanied by two or three silver-workers and smiths. These artisans did not increase and when the Yakut became more numerous there were not enough tools and some lost their metal implements through breakage. Therefore to meet their needs each manufactured for himself, axes, scythes, or other implements of horn, bone, and stone, in accordance with his wants.

The strongest and most alert men among the Yakut could walk five *kōs*[2], kill forty hares, carry them on their shoulders, together with a bow and ten hare traps and return the same day to their dwellings. At home they were occupied with hay making, although they did not need much hay, since the winters and summers seem to have been of the same

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[1] *Nasleg* is a territorial unit comprising several clans; a *ulus* consists of several *naslegs*.

[2] *Kōs* is an indeterminate linear measure of the Yakut, given in terms of an indeterminate time period. It is the distance covered by walking during the time a vessel filled with water takes to boil on the hearth. But nothing is said about the size of the pot nor the intensity of the fire. Literally, *kōs* means clay pot.

This is according to information received by me from the Yakut of the Kolyma District. Pekarsky, E. K., Dictionary of the Yakut Language [Yakut-Russian] (*Published by the Russian Academy of Sciences*, in twelve parts, Leningrad, 1907–1927), 1170, however, says that *kōc*, meaning a day's walk or ride of a wandering camp is the Yakut linear measure which corresponds to, from seven to eight versts (4.6 to 5.2 miles) for a walker and from ten to fourteen versts (6.6 to 9.2 miles) for a horseman. There is also an ox mile and a dog mile. In Afghanistan *kuōs* is a fixed linear measure corresponding to eighteen miles.

● 539 duration. Some years the winters were longer and the cattle died or fell to the last head after the hay was consumed.

One noted shaman predicted: "A numerous people will come; a people of different appearance, with deep set eyes, high bridged noses, hairy faces, and wearing short coats. Then unavoidable distress and unescapable misfortune will befall us." Then the whole tribe held a council. The rich implored the shaman and offered him a remuneration to bar the way to the newcomers, saying, "Drive them back by incantations." Accordingly, the shaman performed uninterruptedly for several days and nights; then he stopped and said: "I could not overcome them; I could not induce the spirit subjects of the Sakh and the evil spirits to stop the waters of the river by filling it with sand. After they had half filled the river a *yŏr* (i.e., the spirit of the soul of a deceased man) appeared in the shape of a strong hideous man, resembling the people I described before, and threw everything out of the river. Therefore we must expect an unavoidable calamity." In his sorrow, he wept. The people soon forgot his warning and lived for many years in the same manner as before.

Among the Yakut nobody lived as luxuriously as Tygyn who had the largest *yurta* (house). One time two men appeared from an unknown place; their eyes were deep set and blue, their noses high and sharp; their hair was cut short; their clothing was narrow like seaweed. They did not understand the colloquial language, but communicated by signs and surmised what was said. They remained there several days, helped with the work, and were very industrious and of good character.

In the summer they returned, remaining for the winter. Speaking of these men, Tygyn's wife said, "The men who came in search of us inspire me with fear; my limbs tremble when I give them kumiss in a goblet and I spill it. This means that in the future their descendants will become the masters of the Yakut. When I examine them carefully, I see that their arms and legs are covered with hair and I conclude from this that they belong to a numerous people. Old man,[1] order our people to kill them." Tygyn disagreed and answered, "It would be a sin to kill them before they have exhibited any evil and the White-Lord-Master (Uruñ-Ajy-Toyon) would punish us. Besides, their work is profitable."

When the two newcomers addressed each other, they often said, "*lutshe, lutshe*" (Russian: better, better). Hearing this, the Yakut called them Nutcha. On the other hand, the newcomers, hearing the

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[1] Old man is used instead of "my husband."

Sakha use the word *dja kuot* (just run) or *djā kuotta* (they just ran away), called them Sakha Yakut.

They spent two years with the Yakut accepting nothing whatever for their work, and pleasing them very much. Once, in the spring, they asked for two hides. Tygyn complied with their request. They stretched the hides on the ground and it seemed that they talked of the place covered with the hides. Tygyn thought they wanted to erect something there; to see what they would do, he told them to take the hides. The two Russians cut the hide into thongs like thread. They drew them around a large tract of land picketed with wooden pegs as boundary marks and said, as it seemed. "These may not be removed." "Well," said the Yakut, "let it be," but paid no attention to it.

After that, both Russians disappeared for the spring and summer. Some of the people noticed it and said to Tygyn, "The two Russians departed southward by water. They are a wonderful people." Then they forgot all about them. The Yakut did not remove the pegs driven into the ground by the Russians because they did not understand their meaning.

Early one morning, in the spring of the third year, many high and low buildings which had not been there before appeared on the tract of land enclosed by the pegs. They were constructed of logs laid horizontally. Inside and outside the houses were people resembling the two Russians and as numerous as mosquitoes. The Yakut were frightened, met in council, and decided to kill the intruders. They assembled and began to shoot with their bows from a distance. They did not hide behind their dwellings, but sought shelter behind entrenchments. The arrows glanced off from the Russian houses, harming no one, but some Yakut died on hearing the report of a gun. Therefore, they said, wonderingly, "It is amazing that we die every time the Russians break wind."

Tygyn's son, Tschalhas, who was very strong and clever, said, "I noticed that after every report something like a berry penetrates the man's body; then he dies." Tschalhas, unharmed, caught the "berries" in his cap and returned them. As the Yakut were unable to attack, they besieged the Russians for many days. The Russians strewed tasteful sweets and white and blue beads around their houses. The Yakut children picked these up and carried them to their parents. They tasted and found them delicious and thought the beads were beautiful. Then stupidly and foolishly the older people also went to look for sweets and beads. When they approached the Russian houses, the latter threw long larch trees at them, annihilating the assembled crowd.

Tschalhas was very excited and worried over the occurrence. Carrying his bow, he ascended to the top of a hill which served as a rampart. When a red-faced man appeared in front of the high building, he discharged an arrow which struck his eye; thus, the most prominent of the Russians died. After that Tschalhas ran to the Russian houses to wreck them. He braced his shoulders against the walls and the houses trembled and appeared on the verge of collapse. The Russians captured him and shackled him with iron chains which he smashed and threw away. Then the Russian leader had his people hold him fast and put his nose to his private parts to smell. He sniffled like a horse and died; he could not endure the abhorrent practice. When Tschalhas' head was cut off it weighed one and a half *pud* (54 pounds). The Yakut, deeply moved at his death, wept bitterly because it was quite uncertain whether an individual like Tschalhas would ever be born again. Unfortunately, Tschalhas left no children; consequently, the number of Yakut continued to dwindle.[1]

As the Yakut were no longer able to struggle with and resist the Russians, they submitted to their domination and lost their independence. Even the bravest of the Yakut preferred living under Russian rule to leaving their original settlements and migrating, near or far. There they increased in number.[1]

The best men of the present eastern and western Kangalas named *uluses* were the sons of Tygyn, the so-called Kangalas people and some others. These two *uluses* originated from all of them. Bolotoi Orkhon (Molotoi Orkhon) and his son Mängä and many people lived where the Baturuski *ulus* is now. Khordoi Khoyogos with his son, Borogon, and many other people lived where the Meginski Ulus is now located. Khatalamai Bärgän and his son, Bātyr, and many other people, settled and lived where the Baturuski Ulus is now. The present Borogon and Dupsun *uluses* originated from Khordoi Khoyogos and his son Borogon. Ān Äräkä Oyūn and his son, Nam, and many people are the ancestors of the Namski Ulus.

Ajȳ Taibȳr with his son, Bai, and a small number of people found a place where they settled. Later, when Bai grew old and his father was dead his people called him Bāi-aga. From him, the Bayagantaiski Ulus originated. On the Viliui, Kolyma, Yana, and Olekma rivers emigrants from the eight *uluses* mentioned joined forces and multiplied and now occupy the Viliuisk, Kolymsk, Verkhoyansk, and Olekminsk districts. Then the people moved from one *ulus* to another, and from one district to another, and every census showed an increase in population.

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[1] The meaning is not quite clear, but this is the literal translation of the tradition.

Though the Yakut moved on from one distant place to another, the Russians still pursued them and in two generations they converted the Yakut to the Greek Catholic faith and levied the imperial fur tribute (*yassak*). When the Yakut learned and became accustomed to the new order of things, they found everything to their liking, and rejoiced over the condition of affairs. It is told, however, that they were bitter over the Russians who were implicated in the death of Tschalhas. For a long time, they could not forget Tschalhas and mourned over him.

The ancestors of the Yakut, dating back to the time when they still lived with the Kirghiz and Buryat, are:—

1. Öksüsü
2. Mäyäräm Süppu, the son of Öksüsü
3. Khorokhoi, the son of Mäyäräm
4. Argyn, the son of Khorokhoi
5. Argyn, the father of Ayal
6. Örös Kuöl Dshuldshygyn, the son of Ayal
7. Tuörtugūl, the son of Örös Kuöl Dshuldshygyn
8. Khayarang, the son of Tuörtugūl
9. Omogoi, the son of Khayarang
10. Älliäi, the son of Khayarang

Omogoi had two sons:—

1. An-Äräsä Oyūn, who had a son called Nam
2. Togosor-Ūs, who had a son called Ayū Taibȳr, and a grandson called Bāi-aga.

Älliäi had four sons:—

1. Däkhsi Darkhan, who had two sons: Khangalas and Tygyn
2. Bolotoi Okhkhon, whose son was Mägä
3. Khatalamai Bärgän, whose son was Bätyr
4. Khordoi Khoyogos, who had a son named Borogon

I, Panteleimon Yegorov Gotovtzev of the Bai-Aga tribe and the Khangalas clan, wrote it.[1]

II[2]

About the end of the fourteenth century the Yakut had already been forced out of their old dwelling places on Lake Baikal by the Buryat and

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[1] This tradition was written in Yakut by a Yakut, Gotovtsev, and translated into Russian by the well-known student of the Yakut, Edward Pekarsky. Professor W. Radloff, Die Jakutische Sprache in ihrem Verhältnisse zu den Türksprachen (*Mémoires de l'Academie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, Classe Historico-Philologique*, Series 8, vol. 8, no. 7, St.-Pétersbourg, 1908), (In Russian), 65–73, translated it into German, commenting as follows (73):—

A comparison of the genealogies of Omogoi and Älliäi with that cited in Tradition II, listing the sons and grandsons of Älliäi, clearly shows that we are here dealing with a conglomerate of words preserved in the memory of the people, which were, originally, either tribal, clan, personal, or geographic names, and became the appellations of dignitaries of the old Turkish empire of Mongolia.

The following may be designated as Turkish genealogical names:—

1. Arhyn (compare the tribal name Arhyn among the Kirghis of the Middle Horde).
2. Ayal (compare the large Ayaly tribe among the Irtish Tatars).
3. Työrtўgyl (undoubtedly derived from the Turkish tört + ohul).

[2] Translated from Radloff, *ibid.*, 77–78.

539 had settled in the valleys of the Lena and its tributaries. Their first encounter with the adventurous Russian conquerors occurred in 1620.

The following tradition related to me by a Yakut as we sat near a fire in a dense wood is believed to account for this interval.

Many, many years ago there lived a rich Yakut named Ohonom who had two daughters, only one of whom he loved. A Buryat named Elyai (Elliei) used to ascend the Lena River in a skin boat to visit Ohonom. They were excellent friends. Ohonom offered him the choice of one of his daughters. Elyai selected the unloved one. The father, angered by his choice, gave him only one mare and a red cow. Soon the beloved daughter died. Ohonom's wife admonished him to visit her son-in-law, as he had begun to fail. The old man did not want to do this. Once when Elyai came to visit him, he fastened Ohonom's coat to the floor with pegs. Ohonom took a full goblet of kumiss but when he tried to rise with it, he spilled the contents. Thus, he understood that he was becoming weak and became reconciled with his son-in-law and went to visit him.

Tyhyn, the son of Elyai, was a strong and powerful chief. At this time the first few Russians came down the river into the Yakut country. Tyhyn was strong and having been assigned to them as a servant, he killed them all, and fled. Afterward, a great number of Russians came in a large vessel and carried on an extended war against Tyhyn. They built a fortress with towers from which they shot. Then the Yakut manufactured strong horsehair rope and tried to pull down the towers, but the Russians counter-attacked by casting trees down on them. Tyhyn was captured and hung. At that time a son named Ebärä was born to Tyhyn and he was the ancestor of the present generation. The Kangalas are descended from Tyhyn's brother.

III[1]

Very long ago, there lived on the Lena, in the present Yakutsk District, a hero and another man. The hero hunted game, fished, and kept many cattle. Once in the summer, while a storm raged, he went from his hut to the river bank where he saw an unknown, handsome, tall, white-complexioned man floating by on a tree with uncut roots and branches. The hero signaled him to approach and as the newcomer did not understand him, he called him, Tyla-suokh (the speechless one). The hero was very much pleased with the stranger and kept him. The Speechless-one, who had wandered about for many years, was very glad.

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[1] Reported by M. Ovchinnikoff, according to the communication of the Yakut Gabisheff, and published by Radloff, *ibid.*, 78–80, from whom it is here translated.

He served the hero for a long time without remuneration. He was a good, industrious worker and watched the cows and horses and cared for the hay, fished and hunted, and did all the necessary housework. Thus the hero became richer and his herds and the store of valuable furs increased. The hero wished to compensate the Speechless-one and proposed that he marry that one of his eight daughters who most pleased him. The Speechless-one gladly accepted this proposal, but it was difficult to choose as all but the youngest were very handsome.

By that time, the Speechless-one understood the hero's language and told him that in his former home he had known the art of writing, possessed books, and was a shaman. His name was Elliei. He had thrown his books into the river before abandoning his house. To overcome his difficulties in choosing a bride, he sought the advice of a neighbor who admonished him to marry the girl with certain peculiarities. These the youngest daughter possessed and, though she was ugly, he married her. Her father gave him as a dowry only one cow and one horse. When Elliei's bride learned this, she was very angry, as she thought that her father despised her. Therefore she decided to be revenged on him. She prepared a particularly intoxicating kumiss and gave it to all her relatives so that they were under its influence for three days. On the fourth day they sobered up and were so enraged against Elliei and his wife that they did not wish to live with them any longer. Therefore, they ascended to the sky and remained there with the god, Ürüng-Ayi-Toyon. To commemorate the ascent of the hero and his daughters, the Yakut, when an unmarried girl died, raised the corpse skyward several times during the burial ceremony, as a symbol that the dead girl is given in marriage to the god, Ürüng-Ayi-Toyon, who never descends to the earth.

Elliei had fifteen sons and daughters who were the ancestors of the Yakut.

IV[1]

Omogon-Bai, who may have been either a Chukchee or Japanese, since nothing positive is known about him, lived on the site of the City of Yakutsk. He possessed much wealth. From the south, along the Olekma River, there came a poor man named, Elliei, tall, strong, and of good appearance, who remained in the service of Omogon-Bai.

After serving for many years Omogon offered Elliei one of his daughters in marriage. Elliei took Omogon's youngest daughter who liked him very much. As a dowry, Omogon gave his son-in-law a cow and a mare.

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[1] Communicated by the Yakut, Ivan Torgovkin and published by Radloff, *ibid*., 80–83, in German from which version it is here translated by the author.

When the mare bore a colt, Elliei offered kumiss to the god Ürüng-Ayi-Toyon, also to Ytyk, the protector of cattle and men. Omogon and his family were astonished by these offerings since they had never seen such a ceremony.

In sorrow over her sister's marriage, Omogon's eldest daughter, who was very beautiful, erected a house seven stories high, abandoned her father, and lived in the upper story of the house. There she occupied herself with shamanistic performances and everyone believed her to be insane. She was not insane, but became an evil spirit and endeavored to discharge diseases into Elliei and his cattle.

Elliei had many sons and daughters who were the progenitors of the Yakut. Tygyn was one of his sons. Ytyk, the protector of cattle, gave Elliei so many cattle and horses that he outranked Omogon in riches. Everything proceeded successfully, except that the eldest daughter of Omogon, enraged because Elliei did not marry her, gave diseases to the cattle and children of Elliei. Now, the Yakut are also troubled with diseases, as that one damned his descendants. The shamans know how to prevail against them. If Ürüng-Ayi-Toyon, Ytyk, and the shamans did not exist, the Yakut would surely die out, since the shamans beg the gods to protect the Yakut and to dispel the diseases.

V[1]

Two Kirghiz men ran away from their people. The Yakut heard about it later from the Buryat. One of the fugitives was called Omogon; no one knew the name of the second man who died soon after reaching the place now inhabited by Yakut. The Buryat learned of their arrival through the thefts which were incessant for two years.

Once, in the summer, two women went to the woods to gather wild berries and did not return. The Buryat searched for them carefully, but could not find them. They discovered only the large footprints of two men. Following this trail they arrived at the upper course of the Lena River. There many tracks of men and cattle led ahead, and soon they discovered the former home of the two fugitives. After spending two years there they built a raft, and placing their cattle and the two kidnapped women on it, they descended the river to the north. The Buryat refused to pursue them farther since they knew they were dealing with dangerous and daring men.

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[1] This variant, edited by Pekarsky, E., Traditions of the Origin of the Yakut (*Publications of the East Siberian Division of the Russian Geographical Society*, Irkutsk, 1925, in Russian), was recorded by P. N. Malygin in 1907 from the old Yakut, I. N. Nikiforov, in Yakut and translated verbatim into Russian, from which the present translation has been made.

Thus Omogon and his companion, together with their wives, settled on the plain of Lake Saisary, where the City of Yakutsk is now situated. Omogon's companion soon died and Omogon took his wife as a second consort. From these two wives, twelve sons and twelve daughters were born to him. They grew up successfully. One of the twelve sons became a shaman of benevolent spirits, a so-called white shaman. When it became time to marry, the brothers married their sisters.

Omogon loved his youngest daughter, a very pretty girl, very much. Guarding her from his sons, he kept her in seclusion during the night. One of his daughters was ugly and none of his sons would take her. Thus, two sons and two daughters remained unmarried. One of the two unmarried sons was the shaman who disapproved of marriage between brothers and sisters. Thus they all lived together, and became very rich. Omogon tried vainly to transform Lake Taloye (not far from Saisary) into a milky lake. To this end he ordered milk to be poured into the lake. But despite all his efforts, he could not get a milky lake. Thus they lived happily.

In the meantime, as the result of some misfortune, two Buryat, a father (Darkhan) and son (Er-Sogotokh-Elliei, i.e., lonesome Elliei), left their people and followed Omogon's trail, hoping to reach the people who had run away before him. They took with them a dog named Enugyas. On their way, before reaching the place where the city of Kirensk is now situated, Darkhan became ill. Feeling death approaching, he announced his last will to his son.

"I am near death. When I die, put my body in a grave on posts (*arangas*). You are a good man and you will not perish at random, my son. Follow the river and you will reach a place where people live. Do not part with Enugyas. When you go down the river, do not forget where the western tributaries fall into the Lena. At the southern cape will lie an uprooted larch tree with roots and branches. Float it on the river, then remove your clothing and sit on it astride, naked. Take the dog, Enugyas, crosswise on your knees, push the tree to the middle of the river and look at your reflection in the water. If a drove of horses is reflected, happiness will come to you; if you are to meet an evil fate, the tree will be reflected. In that case hang yourself in the forest with the string of your bow. Place your writings with my body in a hanging grave."

Expressing his last will, old Darkhan died. His son placed his corpse, together with their writings, in a hanging grave.

After that Er-Sogotokh-Elliei, in accordance with the will of his father, continued his journey, living by hunting. His dog drove wild

●539 fowl to his master, who killed them with his arrows. On his way, he remembered his father's words, and, as he had predicted, on the southern shore of a river he found an uprooted larch tree, with the roots and branches. He stripped to his skin, threw the tree into the water with branches ahead, sat astride on it, and holding the dog crosswise on his knees, he pushed the tree to the middle of the river. He looked at his reflection and his tree mirrored a drove of horses. He was delighted at the sight.

After that, wishing to land somewhere, he maneuvered his tree to the south and reached a large island. Wondering at its size, he called it Toyon-Ary (Chief Island). Then he started to the north and reached the place which is now the Pokrovskaya Post Station.

Soon came the fall and cold weather. Elliei, being naked, wanted to winter there and built an earth hut. At that season migratory birds began to fly to the south and Er-Sogotokh-Elliei hunted them with his bow. He accumulated feathers in his earth hut. Thus he lived several days. Some of the feathers were blown into the water and were carried to the place where Omogon lived.

The women of Omogon's family who went for water noticed them, but told no one. When, the second day, the women found feathers in greater number, they told about them. When Omogon heard this, he said, "I have had a dream: a man seems to have come. Let eight horsemen try to find the man and bring him here." Accordingly, eight horsemen, each taking ten arrows started to look for the man.

Hearing the tramping of horses Elliei's dog began to bark and ran out of the earth hut to meet the horsemen, who perceiving the dog, began to shoot. They shot all their eighty arrows and could not kill the dog; nobody hit it. After they spent their supply of arrows they noticed the smoke coming from the earth hut. When they came nearer, a naked man looked out. The horsemen were frightened when they saw him and quickly returned home.

Reaching home they told their father they had found a man, who had a small-sized formidable looking animal with a very loud voice. "We tried to kill it; we used all our arrows and could not hit it. When we came nearer the earth hut we found a man looking out of it. We were very frightened, besides the little animal would not let us approach his master."

On hearing these words old Omogon became very angry with his sons and said, "You are bad people, you were frightened by this small animal which is called a dog. Go immediately, take some clothing with you, and bring the man here."

539

The eight sons started, taking their father's fur coat. They reached the place, but the dog barred them from its master. They waited and saw a man appear from the earth hut. They were frightened; however, they remained standing at some distance from him and began to beckon the naked man. Elliei understood this and, showing his naked body, made them comprehend that he needed some clothing. They tossed their father's fur coat to him. Elliei tried to put it on, but it was too small for him, so he wore it as a girdle and followed the horsemen with his dog.

Thus, Elliei arrived where Omogon lived. He saw that they had no houses, but lived in bark tents, summer and winter. He was invited into one of them. Omogon, seeing Elliei, was so frightened that he trembled, but hiding his fear, ordered that the guest be well treated and sheltered for the night.

On rising the following morning Omogon looked attentively at his guest and thought, "He will become a good worker; it is needless to kill him." So Omogon took him into his service, hoping to train him as a careful and diligent servant.

In the spring Omogon said he intended to keep him for the summer, but his wife protested, saying, "Kill this man." But Omogon replied, "Why is it necessary to kill such a good worker?" "You are always frightened when he appears," said his wife. The old man became angry and said, "Why should I fear him?" "I will show you that you are afraid of him," answered the old woman. "Well, show me," said Omogon.

Then she twisted some sinew threads and sewed some folds in the back of Omogon's fur coat and let him put it on, saying, "Put on the fur coat and sit down." He did as he was told. When Elliei, finishing his work, came into the hut, the folds burst. Hearing the report, the old man comprehended that he was really afraid of Elliei. He consulted his wife and they decided to give Elliei their favorite daughter in marriage so that he might lose his terror of him. Then they told Elliei that he might sleep with their beloved daughter. "Go, and sleep in the storeroom," they said to him. "Well," Elliei answered, "later."

Omogon was angry, but they all went to bed as before. Early in the morning Elliei rose and went to watch the girls urinating. Then he saw that the good looking girl finished quickly, while the ugly one took much longer. When the girls entered the dwelling, Elliei went to inspect the place where they had urinated and noticed that the water of the ugly girl was divided into three streams. He thought she would be a better wife and would bear many children.

539 In the evening, Omogon again said to Elliei: "Go to sleep in the storehouse." But Elliei answered, "I shall sleep there," pointing to the place where the ugly girl slept. The old man was angry, but replied, "Well, go where you wish." In the morning, Omogon drove Elliei and his ugly daughter from his house, giving them one horn-less cow and one tail-less mare. Thus they left.

They settled not far from Omogon and set up a conical birchbark tent and sewed many birchbark vessels. They kept their pit fire smoking constantly, thus attracting Omogon's cattle. Elliei and his wife regularly milked Omogon's cattle and hoarded a great store of kumiss, butter, cream, and milk. Thus, Elliei, after accumulating many milk products arranged a milk festival called *Ysyakh* and invited his father-in-law. Omogon was angry and said, "How can you arrange a festival with the milk from only one tail-less mare; you are deriding me." He brandished his short dagger, and compelled Elliei to leave. All the sons and daughters of Omogon, except one, the shaman of benevolent spirits, came to the feast. The old woman wished to go, but Omogon would not permit her.

Elliei spread fresh grass and seated his guests in a circle. Then he lifted his goblet of kumiss to the head of the main beam, then to the east, and finally in the direction of the hearth, and poured its contents into the fire. Following this he became much excited and began a shamanistic performance. His speech (which was spoken through him by the spirit of the fire) was as follows:—

"Now, well, when as a child of another tribe I came hither and arranged a festival, to which Omogon did not come, being much too rich and satiated, I will lower his height and shorten his length." Hearing this, Omogon's two sons were enraged, and running to their father, told him what happened. Then Omogon, seizing his short dagger, hastened to his son-in-law with his sons, growling like a bear. Reaching Elliei's camp, he cut the birchbark door of the tent with his dagger, but at this moment his arms and legs became distorted. Seeing this, Omogon's sons took him in their arms and carried him home. The assembled guests departed, leaving the kumiss unfinished. Omogon became ill and soon died.

After their father's death, his sons, fearing that they too would die, left their old settlement, dispersed in different directions, and each settled where he pleased. Thus Elliei remained alone in the plains of Saisary, where the city of Yakutsk is now situated.

173 *Historical Significance of Origin Traditions.* To clarify the historical significance of the foregoing Yakut origin traditions,[1] it will be

[1] [CF. pp. 45-58, CATEGORY 116 -- ANALYST]

178 796 With the passing of the production of kumiss, the ancient ornamented kumiss vessels and goblets, as well as the customs, festivals, and ceremonials associated with its production and use are also disappearing.

114 I was fortunate enough not only to collect a great number of ancient kumiss vessels in various remote localities, but also to arrange a kumiss festival not far from Yakutsk. However, before proceeding with the description of the festival I witnessed, it may be of interest to present one version of its origin.[1]

● 539 Long ago, Onogoi-bai, a Tatar of the Sakha tribe, settled on the Lena River. He came thither with his wife, Sara, his brother, Ulūkhozo, and his men servants, thirteen men altogether. He possessed numerous cattle and horses and nomadized on the left bank of the Lena, on a plain he called Saisary. While living on Saisary Lake, a son, Ān-Taibȳr, and two daughters, Ān-Tshyngai and Nyukā-Kharakhsyn were born to them. Later, a strong and alert youth named Elliei came to him. He was an excellent hunter; roamed through the mountain forests like a wolf, lead bears in by his hand, and dashed through the water like a pike. He entered the service of Onogoi, lived with him three years, and gained the love and respect of all the family.

Once Sara said to her husband: "Er-Elliei is such a clever man, he may be better qualified to become our son-in-law than to remain a worker." Onogoi answered indignantly, "I shall not give my daughter to a stranger. Apparently you like him yourself." Sara replied, "I know you fear Elliei and that he is happier than you are. You tremble when you see him. If you want to convince yourself that what I say is true, stretch a white horsehide through the middle of our birchbark tent, fasten it to the ground with pegs, sit down on it, and with a goblet filled to the brim with kumiss in your hand, call for Elliei." Onogoi did as his wife advised him. When Elliei entered, Onogoi's hand trembled so that he spilled half the contents of the goblet.

When Onogoi convinced himself of Elliei's power, he said to him, "Friend, you have served me faithfully as a relative for more than three years, now I wish to compensate you. My good horse and valuable furs are not sufficient reward for you. You have no woman friend; choose that one of my daughters who pleases you." Elliei thanked him for his kindness and asked for time to consider the matter. Ān-Tchȳngai, Onogoi's elder daughter was rather ugly, while the younger, Nyuka-Kharakhsyn, was handsome and the father's darling.

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[1] Recorded by Priklonsky and translated into German by Radloff, *ibid.*, 74–77, and re-translated into English by the author.

After three years Elliei announced his choice. All this time he had tried to watch both girls urinate but had succeeded only after three years, because girls of that time were very bashful. He saw that the water of the younger daughter, Nyuka-Kharakhsyn, remained on the surface, while the water of the elder penetrated the ground, unrooted the shrub, and foaming up, took the form of a white ptarmigan. Thus Elliei concluded that the elder would become the mother of many strong children.

The younger sister could not bear the distress of being jilted and, envying the luck of An-Tchyngai, strangled herself with her long hair. Onogoi, in sorrow over the death of his darling, considered Er-Elliei and his wife guilty of her death, and drove them from his house. As a symbol of his parental curse he gave them only a white stallion and a white mare with tails and manes docked and an ox and a cow with broken horns. Elliei worried about the curse. He built an enormous hut and provided the best game and birds for food. He decorated his hut and summer tent with the bones of rare animals and feathers of beautiful birds. Elliei had many children, among them six sons:—

1. Labyngkha-sürük (sürük, the runner), his eldest son, later disappeared, leaving no trace of his whereabouts. He was regarded as the first Yakut shaman and the founder of their religion.
2. Khadat Khangalas, from whom both Khangalas *uluses* originated
3. Djyon-Djabyly (or Djyon-djaby), the forefather of the Boturus *ulus*
4. Molotoi Orkhon, the ancestor of the Mägä *ulus*
5. Däli-Darkhan, had two sons: Borohon-Djurotu, the forefather of the Borohon *ulus* and Sürdakh Düpsün, the forefather of the Düpsün *ulus*
6. Khatan-Khata-Malai, forefather of the Nam *ulus*

Er-Elliei introduced the use of smoke for the protection of horses and cattle against mosquitoes and flies. He drove many mares to the smoke and let them milk. Thus he preserved much kumiss and arranged the national kumiss festival called *ysyakh*. The organizer of the festival was his eldest son, Labynkha-Sürük, the first shaman. He ordered kumiss goblets (*choron-ayakh*) and ladles (*ābir-khamyyakh*) made from large birches. These were to be ornamented with cords of the hair from white manes. He had three posts driven into the ground on an open plain and put a board across the top. Near the posts he planted young birch trees, bound horsehair cords around them, and ornamented them with tufts of horsehair and named this arrangement *dalbar-chachyr*, offering place. There he put hide vessels containing kumiss and butter. When all the people assembled near the birches, Labynkha arranged them with heads uncovered in a semicircle, facing the east. In front of the people nine youths knelt on their left knees, holding wooden goblets filled with kumiss and butter in their hands. He himself came forth with a kumiss ladle and said,

"The god above (Ayi-Tangara) created man that he may live on earth, adorn it, and avail himself of its treasures during his lifetime. The body is feeble and must die, but the soul (*kut*) will live ever green in the sky in the shape of a larch. Over the visible sky are many other heavens and gods, but beneath the earth live evil spirits. At the festival today we thank the gods for creating us and handing us the gifts of the earth, therefore we drink of one vessel as a token of unity."

Then Labyngkha-Sürük came to the boys and taking kumiss from every goblet with his ladle, he flung it into the air as an offering to the gods. With each goblet the names of the following gods were invoked in regular order:—

1. Ari-Toyon-Aha, who has his seat in the eighth heaven
2. Ürüng-Ayi-Toyon, who has his seat in the third heaven
3. Nelbei-Ayi-Kübei-Khotun-iye, a goddess
4. Nalygyr-Ayihyt-Khotun, the goddess who helps women lying-in
5. Ān-ālai-Khotun, the mother of the earth, and her son, Äräkä-Djäräka, the god of green vegetation
6. Kürüo-Djösögoi, who had seven brothers:—
    1. Sürdakh-Süge-Toyon, the thunder god
    a. Ān-djäsyn, god of light and lightning
    3. Tangkhasyt-djilka-khan, god of men's fate
    4. Ilbis-khan, god of war
    5. Uordakh-Djasabyl, the messenger of god's anger
    6. Khan-iäyäkhsit-ärdän-ayi, messenger of welfare
    7. Süng-Khan-Süngkän-Khomporum-Khotoi-Ayi, god of birds
7. Mohol-toyon and Usun-kuyär-khotun, the protectors of cattle
8. Bāi-bayanai, seven brothers:—
    1. Bai-Parylakh
    2. Kuralai-bärgän and
    3. Kurahachchi-sürük, the gods of hunting and capturing[1]
    4. Dobun-sokhkhor and
    5. Suosan (Suodjan)ärkin, the hinderers of hunting and capturing
    6. Tyga-bytyrȳs and
    7. Khannakh-Sägälän (Sögölön), the gods of trades
9. Bosol-toyon and Buomcha-Khotun, the warders of the road to the gods; Baran-bätyr, the god of the hut; Äläs-bätyr, the god of stables and yard; the seven brothers, gods of fire: Byrdja-bytyk, Kyryl-tüsümär, Kündül chahān, Kürä-chahān, Khān-chahān, Khatan-sotuya, Ylgyn-ärbidja.

When all the gods had been appealed to Labyngkha-sürük exclaimed three times, "*Urui*" and the people reiterated this call. Then a white gull appeared and flew three times around the meeting place. This was regarded as a good omen.

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[1] Capturing animals with snares and traps.

● 539 Onogoi, as the chief, was given the first goblet. When he took it, he fell to the ground, unconscious and sightless, with stiffened limbs. The people believed it to be a message from the gods because Onogoi had damned Er-Elliei and mutilated the cattle created by god.

Shortly after Onogoi died and all his riches vanished. His only son became poor and subsisted on the booty of his black dog.

The Yakut living in different districts originated from emigrants of the Yakut district, who partly voluntarily and partly forced by powerful tribes, settled the distant region.

After the death of Er-Elliei the kumiss festival was celebrated in the same manner in all the *uluses*.

796 The kumiss festival (*ysyax*) has both social and religious significance.
782 During the summer, in olden times, every rich man arranged a kumiss
756 festival at which all members of the clan assembled and were entertained.
Other people, and frequently whole clans, were also invited. During the
[614] festival defensive and offensive leagues were concluded. Every such
ceremony was initiated with sacrifices, which were accompanied with
songs, dances, games, horse and foot races, and other contests.

Two kumiss festivals in honor of the deities were arranged during the year by the owners of large droves of mares. The spring festival was consecrated to the Supreme Being and the head of the benevolent deities of the class of "creators" (*ayi*),—to Lord-Bright-Creator. The first milking of mares in the spring is also consecrated to the Supreme Being. The spring festival is called *Ayi ysyaxa* (kumiss festival in honor of the "creators"). Spring, as the period of the revival of nature, was the season of happiness and abundance. In the prayers addressed to the "creators" they are implored to bestow their blessing upon the people. The spring kumiss festival takes place in the open air. In the midst of a large smooth grass meadow is erected a kind of altar, consisting of two posts with a cross beam and three young birch trees with young shoots on them (see p. 201). The altar is hung with sacrificial horsehair; on the ground in front of it are placed ornamented birchbark and oxhide barrels filled with kumiss. The skin barrels are tied to the altar-frame by long ornamented strips of soft elk leather, so that the vessels will not collapse when softened by the liquid in them.

The ceremony commences with sacrifices to Lord-Bright-Creator and to other "creators." Their names are uttered by the steward of the festival, who may be a shaman or an older member of the clan. The sacrifices consist of libations of kumiss to every deity, in the direction of the dawn; formerly horses were often consecrated by being driven to the

7: Shklovsky -- 42- 43 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 539, 824

"The Yakuts ascribe to this grass [RCH: grass used as hay] a sacred origin. This is the legend:

Jessagai Tayon, the 'White God's' brother, calls together all the migratory birds and shows them the way to the south. His seven daughters very often change themselves into white cranes (the Yakuts' sacred bird) and come down to earth to dance on the meadows. Once the kind goddess, Yechsite-Hatim, seeing them dance, took the most beautiful of the girls and said to her: [43]

'Your destination shall be the 'middle place', (1) to serve and help the Yakuts.'

1. The Yakuts divide the universe into three parts --higher, middle (the earth) and lower. The gods live in all three parts.

The girl cried and begged to be set free.

'Do not despise the pagan earth! Turn yourself into grass and nourish the animals of the Yakuts.' And so saying the goddess cut the wings of the girl, who became a blade of grass."

7: Shklovsky -- 50 [2] T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 539, 582, 614

"The Yakut chooses his wife from another clan. 'The bride who dwells among her own people cannot be happy,' says the Yakutian proverb, and 'Happy is the daughter who marries far away from the parental home."

" 'The blacksmith and the shaman are from the same nest,' says the Yakut proverb.(2)

2. Sieroshevsky, V. L., The Yakuts. St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 631.

The blacksmith has even the greater supernatural powers. 'The first blacksmith, the first shaman, and the first potter were blood brothers. The blacksmith was the oldest, and the shaman the middle.' Therefore the shaman being younger cannot cause the death of the blacksmith. In every attempt of the shaman 'to eat the blacksmith', the tools of the latter, his tongs, his hammer, and the anvil are transformed into winged creatures, which, flying around, strike and pinch the shaman. When the shaman wishes to thrash the soul (3) of the blacksmith, this soul hides in the kuolgan (the iron plate with seven

3. According to Yastremsky, the Yakut believe that the soul, kut, consists of three elements: buor-kut (earth-soul), iya kut (mother soul), anya kut (father soul). After death the soul undergoes transformations, and the souls of the famous shamans can be transformed seven times. According to Baishev, bour kut remains after the death with the corpse in the grave; salgin kut is transformed into a wandering spirit, yor, and sur kut after death is reincarnated. (Tr.)

15: Popov --257-258 E-3 (no date)1933 Yakut-2
116, 326, 539, 554, 756, 774

or nine holes of different diameters for punching holes in [258] the metals), where the shaman cannot reach him.(1)

1. Kulakovsky, A. E., Materials for the Study of the Beliefs of the Yakuts, Yakutsk, 1923, pp. 67-68.

Moreover small models of the blacksmith's paraphernalia serve as amulets to the shaman." (2)

2. Potanin, G. N., Thunder in the Beliefs and Folklore of the Tribes of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Journal of Department of Education, January 1882, p. 159.

15: Popov --260 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 539, 556, 756

"Among the Yakut, blacksmiths as well as shamans usually are not rich. This gave rise to the following tale:

'Long ago God asked a blacksmith, a shaman and a merchant: 'What are your profits?' The shaman and the blacksmith lied and said they made hardly anything. The merchant spoke the truth. Then God said that as a punishment for lying the shaman and the blacksmith should never become rich.'"

15: Popov -- 260-261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-3
116, 326, 539, 756, 776

"Among the Yakut, blacksmiths receive their skill from the evil deity K'daai Maqsin, chief blacksmith in the whole underworld. He lives in an iron house, and owns black cattle with white heads, and spotted red horses. For many versts before the approach to his house the ground is covered with remains of fired slag iron. The forehead of this deity is covered with dirt nine fingers thick, his cheeks with rust three fingers thick, the face is like a chunk of earth torn from the mountain; his eyes are always closed and when he wishes to see, eight men from above and eight men from below drag the iron lids apart with iron hooks. (1) K'daai Maqsin is a great master. If a valiant hero, a vassal of the evil spirits, loses his arm or leg, he forges him a new one and fixes it in the prpper place. He can make rifles which do not miss, and a garb which will protect against bullets. He can add strength to a weaker hero. He makes a very hard iron which he tempers in a special liquid made of the blood of a lion, the tears of a species of seal,

1. Iron eyelids are a common attribute of Yakut heroic personages. Thus Arsan-Duolan-Old Man is similarly described: One man with the iron hook ran up over his breast, hooked his lower eyelid and dragged it down. Another man with a hook ran over his back and propping himself against the stony back of Old Man's head, cought his upper eyelids with the hooks and dragged them up. (Yastremsky, p. 19). (Tr.)

15: Popov --260-261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut -2
116, 326, 539, 756, 776

blood from the lips of a young man and the blood of the cheeks of a young girl. His bellows are made of thirty cowhides. He has as assistants hammer-men, bellows-men and file-men.

K'daai Maqsin also caused shamans to be introduced into this world, The Yakut tell the following tale: Long, long ago evil spirits lived on earth with the people, but often abused them by stealing their women. The husbands in pursuit penetrated into the lower world and reached the place where they could not continue their way without horses. They [261] asked K'daai Maqsin for help, and he forged horses for them on condition that they send to him upon their return nine jet black mares with white heads as payment for his work.' The men asked him: 'With whom shall we send the horses to you?' 'With the famous shaman!' replied the Blacksmith of the Underworld. From this time on shamans were on the earth.

Moreover, sometimes K'daai Maqsin personally participates in the initiation of the famous shamans of the lower world: he tempers their souls as he tempers iron.

K'daai Maqsin, after teaching the people the blacksmith's art, did not tell them how to weld the iron. The first blacksmith asked a very esteemed old man for advice in this matter, who said to him: 'When the devil comes to you, heat a large piece of iron in the fire, cover it with snow and strike it with a heavy sledge hammer. The great noise will scare the devil and perhaps, being frightened he will disclose to you the secret.' The blacksmith listened to the advice and when the devil came to him he acted accordingly.

15: Popov -- 260 - 261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut - 3
116, 326 539, 756, 776

At the loud retort the devil, losing his wits from fright, yelled: 'Use sand.' From this time on blacksmiths have known how to weld iron by the use of sand. (1)

1. Pripusov, N. P., Shamanism of the Yakuts of the Yakutsk region. Izvestia of East Siberian section of R. G. S. Vol. XV, pp. 3-4."

15: Popov --262-271 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-21
116, 539

"The Initiation.

The following ceremony was performed by the Yakut, Gerasim Yegorov, in Udiygei Ulus, Viliusk region, over a young blacksmith. The ritual was recorded in text and is here given in close translation.

When the shaman has diagnosed the illness he addresses the blacksmith with the following words;

Your sickness has been caused by the spirit of the blacksmiths. It can be remedied by blowing with bellows the fire in which is the head of a black bull with a white spot on the forehead, giving a tribute to K'daai Maqsin. [RCH: see category 116, pp. 260-261]

A bull of the proper color is brought in and killed; all the blacksmith tools of the patient are smeared with its blood. From the entrails of the animal are made seven blood sausages, and seven men are selceted to represent the seven assistants of K'daai Maqsin. One of them is bellows-man (Kokoonai); two are file-men and move the files over the iron to produce the grating sounds (Arsaanai), and four are hammer-men (Baltaanai), and strike the head of the sacrificial bull with the hammers.

The ceremony takes place late in the evening, after the evening meal. Each of these seven men puts on his neck a raw blood sausage and places between his teeth a piece of raw lung. A large fire is made in the furnace and the bellows are placed in readiness. The hammer-men take the head of the sacrificial animal and throw it, together with the ar- [263] teries, heart, and liver into the fire. The bellows-men blow the fire. The

15: Popov--262 - 271 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-2
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sick blacksmith is seated near the forge.

The shaman goes outside to let his spirit-helpers enter into him, and the tent is swept out after him. After a while the shaman re-enters the tent, puts on a long fur coat and jumps around singing without words, vigorously beating the drum. He approaches the bellows-men and standing near them sings the following incantation to the accompaniment of the drum:

Mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith who has nine habitations, eight river islands to live on; who create the blacksmith and predestine (him); who has Baltaanai as a hammer-man, Kokoonai as a bellows-man, Arsaanai as a file-man, seven young workmen with lungs in their teeth, and blood collars.

K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith! Standing before you, handing (you) what is needful, bringing (you) what is required, enduring tortures, seeing people's sufferings, becoming exhausted, (literally, sifting the earth), swaying, staggering, lifting (myself), do I not stand (here) conjuring and singing?

Having Bakaanai, (1) blacksmith, as a hammer-man, Kokoonai, blacksmith, as a bellows-man, Arsaanai, blacksmith, as a file-man, imitating you, K'daai Maqsin! I,

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1. Both Yakut & Russian text have Bakaanai instead of the customary Baltaanai.

15: Popov -- 262-271 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut - 3
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arriving from the river of misfortune (bordered)with pine trees, chanting, (am addressing you) K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith: May thine anger be on the outskirts', saying, 'a three-year-old black cow you have incessantly begged for, (I) drive to you trotting, Sui! Sui! (2) Hammer-men! Strike!

2. An exclamation. (Tr.)

The hammer-men with the iron tongs take the head of the sacrificial animal from the fire, place it on the anvil, and shouting: 'Sui! Sui! strike it with the hammers.

Shaman: File-men! Start filing.

The file-men begin to move the file on the iron. After a while the hammer-men stop hammering, and throw the remains of the head back into the fire, the file-men also stop filing. From time to time the bellows-men blow the fire.

Shaman: Having multicolored armpits, having red cattle with white stripes on the face, O mighty blacksmith, K'daai Maqsin! I, (having) jingling pendants, tinkling rattles, mussing my shaggy head, (am addressing you): 'Mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith, having chiseled tusks, may thy heart, O brave one, become calm and thy liver be pacified. 'I have arrived with the gift of the fat of the heart (3) of a three-year-old black cow.

3. Literally: the fat around the heart, evidently the choice morsel. (Tr.)

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Withdraw thy wormy soul (4) which is like a seven-tailed whip! Lift up (i. e. withdraw) thy fiery, deceiving nine-fathoms- [264] long breath! Withdraw thy black, heavy soul, the size of a pine tree buried in the snow.

They say: 'May thy bent-out cheek, O bold one! be bent back!

Having Bakaanai as a hammer-man, Kokoonai as a bellows-man, Arsaanai as file-man, having great cunning, performing all incantations, singing all chants, sitting on an important seat, ceaselessly chanting my thoughts, making powerful Kokoev to honor and feast thee, (I am addressing thee):

Send back to the country of the sun the young lark! Lift up in the country of Ajii, (1)

4. The illness visited upon the initiate.

1. The country of Ajii is described in Yakut folklore in the following terms: 'There is no winter, but summer always; such is this country. There are no nights but always bright day, such is this country. The sun does not set; the moon does not disappear; the birds do not fly away. The lakes are of milk, instead of mud there is cream cheese; the dark depths are of oil with buttermilk;the forest lakes are of butter, the mountains of intestinal

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> fat, the rocks of abdominal fat, the shave grass grows as tall as the head of hero's horse, the green sedge grows up to its mane, the mountains sedge up to his knees. The poplars are like silver rods, the willows like twisted silver...' Yastremsky, p. 56. With this is contrasted the lower world, the country of eternal cold; the home of the evil stuttering deities: 'the country of the partly covered sun and partly covered moon. It is the country of crooked trees with large cones growing upside-down, the size of the belly of a lying cow. It is covered by low , needle-like iron grass. It is the country where the frogs are as large as a well-fed mare and the water-bugs like large bulls, the country where wasps are the size of a young four year old bull.' Yastremsky, p. 65. (Tr.)

my small young bird!

Mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith, relieve his trouble!

Hey! Kokoonai, blacksmith! Blow the bellows!

The file-men begin to move the files on the iron, the hammer-men strike with the hammers the remains of the head of the sacrificial animal. After a while the file-men cease to move the files on the iron, the hammer-men stop striking with the hammers; the remains of the head are again thrown into the forge, where the bellows-men blow up the fire.

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. Shaman: Almighty and conquering from force of habit, because of thy disposition and by necessity, O bold one! Thou canst not help demanding that (which is to thee) desirable, thou canst not help considering thy gain. Old Man, K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith! Thou, O bold one! who transformed thyself into this illness, try to go away, think not of throwing into the rubbish heap my sincere, coveted words!

Having in our teeth raw lungs, on our necks collars of poured blood, (we) relatives are standing here, appearing before thee.

Having cattle of red color, with white stripes on their faces, mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith, thy tricks, thy habits, take away!

Ancestor of blacksmiths! Thou shouldst have pity on thy people! Let there be Sui! Sui!
[265]

Baltaanái! Strike with the hammer!

Kokoonái! Blow the bellows!

Arsaanái! File the iron!

The file-men start to move the files on the iron, the hammer-men strike the remains of the head of the sacrificial animal with the hammers, etc. as before.

Shaman: To the earth having nine (shamanistic) places of repose, over the country having road-markers of neck vertebrae of nine female shamans, I (am) swiftly descending;

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over roads having abysses like the holes of the koulgan of the man-blacksmith, (1) (I am)

1. Here contrasted with the spirit-blacksmiths.

swiftly descending; over roads having abysses like the openings of furnaces, looking (ahead)., possessed by the spirit of blood-thirstiness, (I) continue to descend!

Over the far-away land, over roads having abysses like holes of the nail-plate of the man-blacksmith, looking (down) and swiftly going, we bold ones are descending, or losing our way over the roads with mason ducks, (2) descending, saying: for the sake of mighty

2. The duck of the species taas kuha (stone duck). Dictionary of the Yakut language. F. K. Pekarsky, p. 219. This refers to shamanistic birds.

K'daai Maqsin, let us chant beseeching him!

Bakaanai, and hammer-men! Kokoonái, and bellows-men do your best again!

The hammer-men and bellows-men act as before.

Shaman: He, the bold one, up to his very hips is surrounded by the water-breath! From the country, where (even) its spirits, the spiders, (3) get stuck, you bold ones,

3.... The ground of the unmovable underworld had been trampled in the contest into such a mud that even spiders get stuck there. Yastremsky, p. 28. (Tr.)

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remain seeing and hearing! Getting used to it, accustoming [myself] to it, riding, singing with proud air, performing antics, using cunning tricks and wiles, getting famous and honored. I, the bold one, (address) the mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith, the bold one, (saying): 'Getting fatter, larger and taller, he (4) becomes the ancestor of blacksmiths, (he) having strong ideas, angry visage, he the bold one.' If I say, come here, (then he is) looking back; if I say go away, (then he is) going ahead! He, the bold one, having eyes, like the morning star on a cold spring night, having long excellent beak, acting contrary, having a stubborn nature, -- is it not time (for thee) to try to get calmer, sitting, -- to get rested, standing?

I, thy eloquent interpreter, O bold one, have arrived (here), O hard-natured monster, is it not the day for thee to give up to me thy happiness? Thy child Ajii, throw in the country of Ajii. Thy child of the sun, thrown in the country of the sun. [266]

Let thy little young lark fly up.
Let thy small bird fly away.
(Thou) who has transformed thyself into this fit of sickness -- go away!
O mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith!

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4 K'daai Maqsin (Tr.)

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Having as bellows-man, Kokoonái, blacksmith, Arsaanái as file-man, Bakaanái as hammer-man, wishing to sever (the thread of life) go away!

Hey! Hammer-men! Strike!

Hey! File-men! File the irons!

The hammer-men and file-men act as before. The shaman, vigorously beating the drum, goes to the entrance and there shaking his head repeats rapidly 'Ba-ba-ba-ba-ba.' Then he places his left hand with the tambourine behind his back, and with the drum stick in the right hand goes through the motion of dragging something to him. (1) Then he returns, mutters something incoherently, pointing with the stick to the left, looks around and starts spinning like a top. Then he goes to the left, beats the drum three times and begins to chant:

Hey, thou bold one, go away, go away, go away! Hey! continue to work! continue to work! continue to work!(2) Don't try to lie, to cheat, and decieve!

1. Attracting the spirits to himself.

2. He is sending away unnecessary spirits.

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The shaman repidly approaches the entrance, beats the drum three times and repeats 'Ba- ba- ba-ba,' shaking his head:

My one-sided Keeleeni (3), my one-eyed lame one, come quickly!

3. The family of shamanistic stuttering spirits, born of human fathers from the daughters of clouds. They are known for their bragging and sensuality.

He goes to the audience, holding the drum behind his back and begins to speak in the name of his control, the spirit Keeleeni, stuttering: (4)

4. The spirits of the lower world stutter when they speak. (Tr.)

Shaman (spirit): 'Master of the house, where do you sit?'

Master of the house: Here I am sitting.

Shaman (spirit): 'For what need have you caused me to be called?'

Master of the house: [Because] I was not able to withstand the morning frost and evening dew.

Shaman (spirit): 'How will it be if you give me a present. If you will give me something I will have yours (5) who ran away and will bale (6) out yours, who went away!

5. Refering to the soul of the patient.

6. Will bring back. (Tr.)

Master of House: Next time when you come!

Shaman (spirit): 'Is it because of that (I) am scampering away with nothing, eh?'

The shaman goes to the left, mutters something (lets the spirit out of him) and speaks, without stuttering, in his own name: [267]

Hey, thou bold one, go away, go away, go away! Continue to work, continue to work, continue to work! Prepare your work.

The shaman goes to the entrance, does as before, and after beating the drum three times says:

My one-sided Keeleeni, my deathless gods, my one-eyed lame one, come quickly.

He repeats rapidly, 'Ba-ba-ba-ba-'...., and holding the drum behind his back, he approaches the audience, and stuttering begins to speak in the name of a spirit, the wife of Keeleeni:

'Master of the house! Where are you sitting?'

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Master of the House: Here I am sitting.

Shaman (spirit): 'From me (to you) health and honor. From me (to you) deep bows.'

He bows to the Master of the House.

'How have you been friend?'

Master of the House: We cannot withstand the evening dew and the morning frost, that is why we have caused you to be called.

Shaman (spirit): 'Eh, what? Haven't you any remnants of cloth for me? Haven't you some remains from the sewing, any broken needles?'

Master of the House: No.

Shaman (spirit): 'Not a bit of (old) broken thimble?'

Master of the House: No.

Shaman (spirit): 'Is it because of that I will be left without anything?'

Master of the House: Try and go away; of course you will be left without anything!

Shaman (spirit): 'Have (you) not a penis? Is there not a man who wishes to use me?'

Master of the House: No.

Shaman (spirit): 'What an unfortunate country!'

Shaman goes left and rapidly repeats: 'Ba-ba-ba'....(lets the spirit out of himself), beats the drum three times and speaks without stuttering in his own name:

Hey, monsters-- go away, go away, go away! Continue to work, continue to work, continue to work.

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The shaman goes to the entrance and acts as before, and after beating the drum three times says:

One-sided Keeleeni, one-eyed lame one! Road-merchant, come quickly.

Holding the drum behind his back, he bows to the audience and speaks in the name of the spirit Keeleeni, stuttering:

Shaman (spirit): 'Master of the House where do you sit?'

Master of the House: Here I am sitting. [268]

Shaman (spirit): 'From me (to you) health and honor. From me (to you) deep bows. Why have you had me called?'

Master of the House: Not being able to withstand the evening dew and the morning frost.

Shaman (spirit): 'Have (you) not seven virgins, so that I could press their outside muscles and pinch the inner ones?'

Master of the House: No.

Shaman (spirit): 'If so perhaps (you) have the ends from the horns of a young cow; perhaps (you) have the trimmings from the hoofs of a young colt; perhaps (you) have the gall of a two-year old eagle; perhaps (you) have tears of a Russian who can't speak Yakut?'

Master of the House: No.

Shaman (spirit): 'Perhaps you are people wishing to eat. Would you take seven pieces of raw meat?'

Master of the House: No.

Shaman (spirit): 'What a torture to deal with you. When one gives, they don't accept; when one asks, he does not receive. Is it because of that I have to drag myself without anything? Hey! Woman! When did you pass? Perhaps she was looking for a husband?

Audience: No she is not looking (for a husband) she just went by. Run after her quickly.

Shaman goes left, murmurs something, beats the drum and speaks without stuttering.

Hey, go and work, work, work. Drive away, drive away, drive away!

He goes to the entrance, exclaims:

Yok-tii (exclamation). Gagagra -- qaq, qaq, qaq! (cry of mudsucker).
Sek, sek sek, kujaat, kujaat! (cry of field snipe)

My birch bark god! My one-sided Keeleeni, come here again!

Holding the drum behind his back, bending down, assuming a senile appearance, he approaches the audience and stuttering, begins to speak in the name of a spirit, the oldest Keeleeni:

Shaman (spirit): Oh, how hard! I, the bold one, am pressed by the weight of years from above, from below pressed by the contents of the stomach. Having reached ninety years, getting up like a crane (with the aid of sticks), spending nine nights near the pine tree with the flat top; with the gait of a pregnant woman, (1) sticking out her breasts;

1. 'He (Kukun-Kullustur) walked with the heavy gait of a heavily moving bull. He was wabbling with the leaden gait of a pregnant woman.' Yastremsky, p. 65. (Tr.)

with the gait of a pregnant woman sticking out her belly; under heavy snow storms I have come here, Master of the House. For the sake of what need, having called me, are you torturing (me)?'

Master of the House: Not being able to withstand the evening dew and the morning frost, I am impatiently waiting for you. [269]

Shaman (spirit): 'Is it true?'

Master of the House: It is.

The shaman lifts up his bent arms, exposing the armpits, and lets out the spirit and says without stuttering:

By mistake you become sickness and epidemic. If it would please you to enter my large stomach, (1) in between my wide ribs, rightly stuffing it, try to give (us) joy and

1. Kielu -- really not stomach but a special compartment in the stomach of a shaman for the entrance of the spirit.

luck!

On the foundation of my chest, on the shoulder-blades of my back, on the back protrusions of my neck-vertebrae, on my round back, on my uplifted head, on the top of my head, descend , my heavy magic! Kierik! Kierik! Kierik!

The shaman throws up his drumstick and it falls on the floor, with the side not covered by skin upward, signifying the favourable outcome of the shamanizing.

Audience shouting: Be as an ice field (i. e. let the earth be as smooth as an ice field, so that drumstick cannot turn with the other side up, which would signify an unfavorable outcome):

Shaman (spirit): 'May there be joy and luck.'

The shaman picks up the drumstick and beats the drum with it several times; then he gives the drum to someone in the audience, making him beat it all the time, while he makes two others hold him by the 'reins'. (2) He goes to the patient and placing his lips on the sick man's breast, sucks in the spirit of sickness (bsgsurujar), and then begins

2. Special straps on the back of the shaman's dress. Among shamans who have no special dress, the 'reins are replaced by a sash with ends tied over the neck.

to shake violently, trying to fall. But those who support the shaman by the 'reins' drag him away by force, and make him sit on the skin. The shaman, moaning, appears slowly to come to himself and threateningly with an angry voice speaks in the name of the spirit Bsgsurujar, spirit of sickness, which he has just sucked into himself:

'I, the bold one, was the one unremovable black heavy breath of mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith. Thou, shaman with large stomach, rusty cheeks, rotten thoughts, thou uncorrigible scoundrel, by coming here very likely will remove me. Such a swindler, you cheated me. Only, will I move? Still, having received staisfaction, can I help going? I will try to go away. To be sure, my thoughts, having seven worms, will jump aside. Seven young men having lungs in their mouths and blood sausages on their necks, some of them by hammering, some by blowing the bellows, driving and leading (us) out, surely will send (us back) by satisfying our desires with a three-year-old animal, bringing it to the mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith!

'Verily let us try to fly away!' [270]

'Verily we will fly away! Sui!'

Stretching his arm in front, the shaman lets out the spirit of sickness, and begins to speak in his own name:

'Let (me) have here my laughing roaring mighty drum (syfreekin) (1) booming for the

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1. Often during the shamnaizing shamans call certain objects by different

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names, in the special 'spirit' language. The usual term for the drum is dynyr, here replaced by 'syfreekin'; it is not used otherwise.

distance of nine night-stops.' (2)

2. Nine days' journey. (Tr.)

The drum is handed to him and the shaman striking it says:

'May thine anger, O bold one, be spread over distant lands, thine ire be spread over distant relatives and tribes. May thy many-colored thoughts having worms like a seven-tailed whip, go far; may thy black heavy breath, like a pine tree covered by snow, moving, continue to go away!

Yei bok! (3)

3. Russian expression: -- 'By God.' (Tr.)

If thou look (back) thy hip joints will crack!
If thou look back, thy neck vertebrae will get red hot.

May he disappear completely!

Yei bok!

Here are these people having seven bloody necklaces! Let this all be purifying!

Take off your bloody necklaces and throw them onto the hearth.

The file-men, hammer-men, and bellows-men take off the blood sausages, and throw them into the fire, into which they also spit the pieces of lungs.

Shaman (spirit): 'May thy thoughts O bold one, be pacified, may thy heart soften! Do not bring the cold and cough near the child whom you have raised, whom you have fed with a horn. (4)

4. Instead of the bottle. (Tr.)

Having Arsaanai as a file-man, Kokoonai as bellows-man, let him become like thee, O mighty K'daai Maqsin, restless, capricious, able to complain, having red animals with white stripes on their faces, a blacksmith. Until the end of his life let him make a noise with his forging.

By thy determination, by thy predestination, let the long and free life of this bold one get better all the time!

Let it be. May all these incantations be effective.

Let him become a great and famous blacksmith, having his origin from the restless and mighty K'daai Maqsin, blacksmith.

All that is broken may he be able to repair!

All that is cracked may he be able to fix!

Let this be purifying (3 times). [271]

The shaman goes three times around the sick man touching him with his shoulder, beating the drum, and says:

Let it be, that I have illuminated (him) from the sea Arap! My child of Ajii, let it be that I have illuminated him in the country of Ajii. My child of the sun, let it be that I have illuminated him in the country of the sun. Let it be that at the sun rise, I made my lark fly up.

It becomes clear, bright!

Let it be that I have made the little bird to fly off. Let this be the cure, the purifying incantation.

He sits down on the skin and continues to speak:

Lifting him from the mighty and restless blacksmith, K'daai Maqsin, throwing him upwards, detaching him from the lulling in the iron crib, let it be that I have illuminated him (this blacksmith) in the country of Ajii.

Lifting (him) I have led (him) into the country of the sun.

My poor seat, on which I sat, let it, becoming entangled, close, being transformed into wool of the bull's forehead; let it, entangled, close, being transformed into the fur of a lynx; let it, entangled close, transformed into fox's fur. (1)

1. At the shamanizing the earth under the seat of shaman cracks invisibly and through this crack the spirits ascend. At the end of the shamanizing the shaman must make an incantation to close the crack, otherwise the spirits will bother the inhabitants of the house.

The shaman turns over the drum and beats it seven times with his drumstick. Pieces of meat are brought in on a plate. The shaman chews them, and spits them into the fire and on the sides of the hearth, gets up and goes out into the street to let out the spirits who entered him.

This ends the shamanizing."

"The Yakut legend is much more elaborate and imaginative, as might be expected from the aristocrats of the tundra. The Yakut territory marches with that of the Limpiisk Tungus on the south-east, and they are at a much higher stage of culture, both material and intellectual, than their neighbours. The tale was told us by an old Yakut living in the Tungus country. He said--

'There have always been two kinds of reindeer; one docile, not fearing men, the other by nature wild and holding dear its freedom. One day two reindeer, one of each kind, were walking together in the forest. The first said,"I will go to these men to find out more about them."

'"Fool," answered the second, "are you not well enough with your friends?"

'"They will be my friends also."

'"They will do you some hurt; they are never the friends of wild creatures."

'"They will not harm me. I see them look long at me from afar, as if they would know me better."

'"You are a fool. If you go to them, they will ride upon your back, and when they have broken it, then they will kill you."

'"You do them wrong. They will not hurt me. I am sure they will not kill me, save for [100] some great need. I would serve them. You they would kill, but not me."

'So that reindeer went among men and they treated him kindly. They ride upon his

20: Czaplicka--99-100 E-3 (1915-16) 1916 Yakut-2
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back, and harness him to sledges, and he does their work. They do not kill him, save in some great need, as when they are hungry, and have nothing else to eat. It is the wild reindeer we commonly kill for our food and other needs.'"

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"THE LITTLE OLD WOMAN WITH FIVE COWS (2)

2. E. A. Khudyakov, Yakut Folk-Tales, p. 80.

[RCH: For the author's notes on this tale see category 539, pp. 287-290.]

One morning a little old woman got up and went to the field containing her five cows. She took from the earth a herb with five sprouts and, without breaking either root or branch, carried it home and wrapped it in a blanket and placed it on her pillow. [263] Then she went out again and sat down to milk her cows. Suddenly she heard tambourine-bells jingle and scissors fall, on account of which noise she upset the milk. Having run home and looked, she found that the plant was uninjured. Again she issued forth to milk the cows, and again thought she heard the tambourine bells jingle and scissors fall, and once more she spilt her milk. Returning to the house, she looked into the bed-chamber. There sat a maiden with eyes of chalcedony and lips of dark stone, with a face of light-coloured stone and with eyebrows like two dark sables stretching their fore feet toward each other; her body was visible through her dress; her bones were visible through her body; her nerves spreading this way and that, like mercury, were visible through her bones. The plant had become this maiden of indescribable beauty.

Soon afterwards Kharjit-Bergen, son of the meritorious Khan Khara, went into the dark forest. He saw a grey squirrel sitting on a curved twig, near the house of the little old woman with five cows, and he began to shoot, but as the light was bad, for the sun was already setting, he did not at once succeed in his purpose. At this time one of his arrows fell into the chimney. 'Old woman! take the arrow and bring it me! ' he cried, but received no answer. His cheeks and forehead grew flushed and he became angry; a wave of arrogance sprang from the back of his neck, and he rushed into the house.

When he entered and saw the maiden he lost consciousness. But he revived and fell in love. Then he went out and jumping on his horse, raced home at full gallop. 'Parents!' said he, 'there is such a beautiful maiden at the house of a little old woman with five cows! Get hold of this maiden and give her to me!'

The father sent nine servants on horseback, and they galloped at full speed to the house of the little old woman with five cows. All the servants became unconscious when they beheld the maiden's beauty. However, they recovered, and all went away except the best one of them. 'Little old woman! ' said he, 'give this girl to the son of the meritorious Khan Khara! ' ' I will give her, ' was the answer. They spoke to the maiden. 'I will go, ' she announced. 'Now, as the bridegroom's wedding gift, ' said the old woman, 'drive up cattle, and fill my open fields with horses and horned stock! ' Immediately the request was uttered and before the agreement was concluded the man gave an order to collect and drive [264] up the animals as the bridegroom's gift. 'Take the maiden and depart! ' said the little old woman, when the stock of horses and cattle had been given as arranged. The maiden was quickly adorned, and a finely speckled horse that spoke like a human

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being was led up to her skilfully. They put on it a silver halter, saddled it with a silver saddle, which was placed over an upper silver saddle-cloth and a lower silver saddle-cloth, and they attached a little silver whip. Then the son-in-law led the bride from the mother's side by the whip, mounted his horse and took the bride home.

They went along the road, and the young man said, 'In the depth of the forest there is a trap for foxes; I will go there. Proceed along this road! it divides into two paths. On the road leading to the east is hanging a sable skin. But on the road leading to the west there should be the skin of a male bear with the paws and head and with white fur at the neck. Go on the path where the sable skin in hanging.' He pointed out the road and went away.

The girl made her way to the fork in the road, but on coming to it forgot the directions. Going along the path where the bear skin was hanging, she reached a small iron hut. Suddenly out of the hut came a devil's daughter, dressed in an iron garment above the knee. She had only one leg, and that was twisted; a single bent hand projected from below her breast, and her single furious eye was situated in the middle of her forehead. Having shot forth a fifty-foot iron tongue on to her breast, she pulled the girl from the horse, dropped her to the ground and tore all the skin from her face and threw it on her own face. She dragged off all the girl's finery and put it on herself. Then mounting, the devil's daugher rode away.

The husband met the devil's daughter when she arrived at the house of the meritorious

Khan Khara. Nine youths came to take her horse by the halter; eight maidens did likewise. It is said that the bride wrongly fastened her horse to the willow tree where the old widow from Semyaksin used to tether her spotted ox. The greater part of those who thus received the bride became sorely depressed and the remainder were disenchanted; sorrow fell on them.

All who met the bride abominated her. Even the red weasels ran away from her, thus showing she was repugnant to them. Grass had been strewn on the pathway up to her hut, and on this grass she was led by the hand. Having entered, she replen-[265]ished the fire with the tops of three young larch trees. Then they concealed her behind a curtain, while they themselves ate, drank and played and laughed and made merry.

But the marriage feast came to an end, and there was a return to ordinary life. The little old woman with five cows, on going into open country to seek her cows, found that the plant with five sprouts was growing better than usual. She dug it up with its roots and, carrying it home, wrapped it up and placed it on her pillow. Then she went back and began to milk the cows, but the tambourine with the bells began to tinkle, and the scissors fell with a noise. Going back to the home, the old woman found the lovely maiden seated and looking more lovely than ever. 'Mother,' she said, 'my husband took me away from here. My dear husband said, "I must go away on some business," but before he went he said, "Walk along the path where the sable's skin is hanging, and do not go where the bear's skin is hanging." I forgot and went along the second path to a little iron house. A devil's daughter tore the skin from my face and put it on her own face; she dragged off all my fine things and put them on; and next this devil's daughter mounted my horse and set out. She threw away skin and bones and a grey dog seized my lungs and heart with his teeth and carried them to open country. I grew here as a plant, for it was decreed that I should not die altogether. Perhaps it has been settled that later I shall bear children. The devil's daughter has affected my fate, for she has married my husband and contaminated his flesh and blood; she has absorbed his flesh and blood. When shall I see him?'

The meritorious Khan Khara came to the field belonging to the little old woman with five cows. The speckled white horse, who was endowed with human speech, knew that his mistress had revived, and he began to speak. He complained to Khan Khara thus: 'The devil's daughter has killed my mistress, torn all the skin from her face and covered her own face with it; she has dragged away my mistress's finery and clothed herself in it. The devil's daughter has gone to live with Khan Khara's son and become his bride. But my mistress has revived and now lives. If your son does not take this holy girl as his bride, then I will complain to the white Lord God on his seat of white stone, by the lake that has silver waves and golden floating ice, and blocks of silver and black ice; and [266] I will shatter your house and your fire, and will leave you no means of living. A divine man must not take a devil's daughter. Fasten this devil's-daughter bride to the legs of a wild horse. Let a stream of rushing water fall on your son and

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cleanse him during thirty days; and let the worms and reptiles suck away his contaminated blood. Afterwards draw him from the water and expose him to the wind on the top of a tree for thirty nights, so that breezes from the north and from the south may penetrate his heart and liver, and purify his contaminated flesh and blood. When he is cleansed let him persuade and re-take his wife!'

The khan heard and understood the horse's words; it is said he threw aside tears from both eyes; then he galloped home. On seeing him the bride changed countenance.

'Son!' said Khan Khara, 'Whence and from whom did you take your wife?' 'She is the daughter of the little old woman with five cows.' 'What was the appearance of the horse on which you brought her? What kind of woman did you bring? Do you know her origin?' To these questions the son answered: 'Beyond the third heaven, in the upper region which has the white stone seat is the white god; his younger brother collected migratory birds and united them into one society. Seven maidens, his daughters in the form of seven cranes, came to earth and feasted and entered a round field and danced; and an instructress descended to them. She took the best of the seven cranes and said, "Your mission is to go out to people; to be a Yakut on this middle land; you must not dislike this impure middle land! You are appointed worthy of the son of the meritorious Khan Khara and are to wear a skin made of eight sables. On account of him you will become human and bear children, and bring them up." After speaking she cut off the end of the crane's wings. The maiden wept. "Turn into a mare's tail grass, and grow!" said the

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instructress; "A little old woman with five cows will find the herb and turn it into a maiden and give her in marriage to Khan Khara's son." I took her according to this direction and as she was described to me; but I accepted a strange being; in reality, as appears to me, I took nothing!'

After his son's reply the khan said: 'Having seen and heard, I have come. The speckled horse with the human voice has complained to me. When you bore away your wife you spoke to her of a forked road. You said, "On the eastern path there [267] is hanging a sable's skin and on the western path a bear's skin." You said, "Do not go on the path with the bear's skin, but go along the path showing a sable skin!" But she forgot, and passed along the path which had a bear's skin. She reached the iron house and then a devil's daughter jumped out to meet her, dragged her from her horse and threw her down, tore the whole of the skin from her face and placed it on her own face. The devil's daughter dressed herself in the girl's finery and silver ornaments and rode hither as a bride. She fastened the horse to the old willow; it is already a mark. "Attach the devil's daughter to the feet of a wild stallion!" said the horse to me, "and wash your son in a swift stream for a whole month of thirty nights; let worms and reptiles suck away his contaminated body and blood. Carry him away and expose him to the breeze on the top of a tree during a month of thirty nights. Let the breezes search him from the north and from the south; let it blow through his heart and liver!" said the horse to me. "Let him go and persuade his wife and take her! But away with this woman! do not show her! She will devour people and cattle. If you do not get rid of her," said the horse, "I will complain to the white God."'

On hearing this the son became much ashamed, and a workman called Boloruk seized the bride, who was sitting behind a curtain, and, dragging her by the foot, fastened her on the legs of a wild horse. The horse kicked the devil's daughter to pieces and to death. Her body and blood were attacked on the ground by worms and reptiles, and became worms and reptiles moving about till the present time. After being placed in a stream of rushing water the khan's son was placed on a tree, so that the spring breezes coming from the north and from the south blew through him. Thus his contaminated body and blood were purified and, when he was brought home, dried up and scarcely breathing, only his skin and bones remained.

He rode to the region of the wedding gift as before and, having picketed his horse, dismounted at his mother-in-law's house. The little old woman who owned the five cows fluttered out joyfully; she rejoiced as if the dead had come to life and the lost had been found. From the picketing spot to the tent she strewed green grass and spread on the front bed a white horse-skin with hoofs. She killed a milch cow and a large-breasted mare and made a wedding feast. [268]

The girl approached her husband with tears. 'Why have you come to me?' she asked. 'You spilt my dark blood, you cut my skin deeply. You gave me up as food for dogs and ducks. You gave me to the daughter of an eight-legged devil. After that, how can you seek a wife here? Girls are more numerous than perch, and women than grayling; my heart is wounded and my mind is agitated! I will not come!'

'I did not send you to the daughter of an eight-legged devil, and when I went away on an important matter I pointed out your path. I did not knowingly direct you to a perilous place, and I did not know what would happen when I said to you, "Go and meet your fate!" The lady-instructress and protectress, the creatress, chose you and appointed you for me; therefore you revived and are alive,' he said; 'and whatever may happen, good or ill, I shall unfailingly take you!'

The little old woman with five cows wiped away tears from both eyes and sat down between these two children. 'How is it that, having met, you do not rejoice when you have returned to life after death, and been found after having been lost? Neither of you must oppose my will!'

The maiden gave her word, but said 'Agreed!' unwillingly. Then the young man sprang up and danced and jumped and embraced and kissed and drew in his breath. The couple played the best games and burst into loud laughter and talked unceasingly. Outside they fastened the speckled horse that spoke like a human being, laid on him the silver saddle cloth, saddled him with the silver saddle, bridled him with the silver bridle, hung on him the silver saddle bags and attached to him the little silver whip. When the maiden had been dressed and all was complete on her she was sent off. She and her husband knew as they went along that it was winter by the fine snow that was falling; they

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knew it was summer by the rain; they knew it was autumn by the fog.

The servants from the nine houses of Khan Khara, the house servants from eight houses and the room attendants from seven houses, and nine lords' sons who came out like nine cranes thought, 'How will the bride arrive? Will she march out or will she saunter? And will sables arise from her footsteps?' Thinking thus, they prepared arrows so vigorously that the skin came off their fingers; they attended so closely to their work that their sight became dull. Seven grown up daughters like seven cranes, born at one time, twisted [269] threads so that the skin came from their knees, and said, 'If, when the bride comes she blows her nose loudly, dear little kings will be plentiful.'

The son arrived with his bride, and two maidens took their horses by the bridle at the picket rope. The son and his bride dismounted and she blew her nose; therefore dear little kings would come! Instantly the women began to weave garments. Sables ran along the place from which the bride stepped forward, and some of the young men hastened into the dark forest to shoot them.

From the foot of the picketing post to the tent the way had been spread with green grass. On arriving, the bride kindled the fire with three branches of larch. Then they hid her behind a curtain. They stretched a strap in nine portions and tied to it ninety speckled foals. On the right side of the house they thrust into the ground nine posts and fastened to them nine white foals and put on the foals nine friendly sorcerers who drank kumyss. On the left side of the house they set up eight posts.

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Wedding festivities were begun in honour of the bride's entry into the home. Warriors collected and experts came together. It is said that nine ancestral spirits came from a higher place and twelve ancestral spirits rose from the ground. It is said that nine tribes came from under the ground and, using whips of dry wood, trotted badly. Those having iron stirrups crowded together and those having copper stirrups went unsteadily. All had collected from the foreign tribes and from the tents of the nomad villages; there were singers, there were dancers, there were story-tellers; there were those who jumped on one foot and there were leapers; there were crowds possessing five-kopeck pieces, there were saunterers. Then the dwellers-on-high flew upwards; those dwelling in the lower regions sank into the earth; and inhabitants of the middle region, the earth, separated and walked away. The litter remained till the third day; but before the morrow most of the fragments had been collected, all animals had been enclosed and children were sporting in the place. Their descendants are said to be alive to-day."

27: Coxwell--270-273 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-6
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"CHARCHAKAN (1)

1. E. A. Khudyakov, Yakut Folk-Tales, p. 234.

[RCH: For the author's notes on this tale see category 539, p. 290.]

Let us speak of Charchakan! He had a man Hairy-throat, and a man Grassy-legs, and a man Tree-leaf Breast, and another Foul-side, and another Bladder-head. And he possessed a lousy ox reaching the clouds, a withered ox reaching to Heaven, and as neighbours he had three gluttons.

The time came to eat the ox, so he was killed and cut up. Tree-leaf Breast raised the fat brisket, but in raising it injured his breast and died. Hairy-throat, in trying to swallow a part of the lungs, injured his throat and died. In order to cook the meat, Grassy-legs went to fetch water; he scooped it up and placed it on the ice, and then had to jump. Holding the pot of water and jumping, he hurt his hand. Kicking against the ice, he hurt his foot. Then he stretched out his other hand and broke it. He fell and broke his back. His head struck the ice and flew into fragments; so he died.

'Oh, it is cold!' said the man Foul-side, as he sat down to warm himself at the fire. A piece of coal jumped on to the dry grass, and nothing more was needed for Foul-side. He died. 'Ah woe! all the men have died,' said Bladder-head, and scratched his head in grief; then he clawed his head with his ten fingers and died.

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Charchakan was left alone and grieved, saying, 'Who should eat the flesh of lousy-ox-reaching-to-heaven?' He went to find a glutton, the chief glutton. 'Glutton! glutton!' said the old man, 'will you eat freely?' 'No, I will eat but little.' Charchakan went to the middle glutton and said, 'Will you eat freely?' 'Eh?' the man asked; 'I have altogether ceased to eat.' 'To the devil with you! I am not even left anyone who will eat. May the devil take you!' cried Charchakan, jumping up and running away.

He hastened to the least famous glutton, who was lying naked at the hearth and with his back to the fire. 'Glutton, glutton! I have come to you, because you are known to me as a big eater. I have killed a withered ox-reaching-to-heaven and I have killed a lousy ox-reaching-to-the-clouds; but all my household is dead.' 'Oh, ho!' said the glutton. Wishing to go and eat, he called his wife, and said, 'Girl, hand me my fur coat made of thirty bulls' skins.' The woman took the [271] coat from a corner of the hut and handed it. 'Hand me,' he said, 'my breeches made from seven oxen. Hand me my leathern boots sewn out of nine pairs of bulls' dewlaps. Hand me my mittens sewn out of nine bulls' dewlaps. Girl, had me my cap made out of nine bulls'-head skins and horns. Hand me my girdle made of nine bulls' tails.' He attached to his waist a leather bag made of nine bulls' hides. 'Now,' said he, 'I will go! and if I am not satisfied I will run round the stove!'

Charchakan brought home the glutton, and the visitor sat down in the right side of the hut; then Charchakan took the bullocks' meat and served it. The glutton spat out of his mouth the horns and hoofs. 'Have you called me,' he said, 'to eat this food?' Charchakan brought and offered him eight large dishes of Yakut meat. The glutton spat out only the skin. Charchakan brought and offered him eight large dishes of sour milk, and the glutton spat out only the birch-bark dishes. 'Can this be your food?' said the glutton, and stopped eating. 'I have no other,' answered Charchakan. 'Humph, humph,' said the glutton. 'Why did you call me for this? It is a vexation and an insult. What presents have you for my wife and children?' 'Old man, I have none,' answered Charchakan, standing and looking at the glutton. They began to run round the stove, but the strap of Charchakan's boots became untied and the glutton stepped on it. Charchakan fell noisily, and the glutton put him in a bag and said, 'Here is a present for my wife and children!'

Soon the glutton went home, but found it hard to lift his legs as he walked. On the way he sat down to rest and put down the bag at the foot of a tree stump. Charchakan cut through the bag with a blunt pointed knife and crept out.

On reaching home the glutton took the bag and threw it into the granary and ran into the house. 'How did he entertain you?' asked his wife. 'Eh? do you want to know what sort of food I got? I ate nothing, and have brought back Charchakan himself.' Here, in her joy, the glutton's wife swallowed her thimble and needle, and their descent was audible. She dragged the bag along, but Charchakan was not in it! She raised the bag and entered the hut and said, 'Husband! Charchakan is not here!' 'What a shame! you have eaten him and cheated my children,' said the glutton, and he cut his wife open with

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a sharp knife. But Charchakan was not [272] in the woman; only the thimble and needle fell out of her noisily. 'Another of Charchakan's impostures. What a creature he is! But it is a pity he has forced me to kill my own wife!' The glutton went back and found Charchakan lying on the road. 'I will tread on your eight oxen!' thought the glutton, and quickly trod on his side. But a piece of bark had been driven against the man's side, and it resounded when stamped on, that was all! The glutton took Charchakan and put him in the bag. Lifting it on to his back, he went home, placed it in the granary and hastened into the hut. 'My nine bald sons and my nine bald daughters! I have brought you Charchakan on a visit; lead him in.' The children rose and brought in Charchakan. They placed him upon a shelf. 'Would you like to eat Charchakan's fat?' said the glutton. 'I will fetch you a little fine fish with which to eat it.' He went out.

But Charchakan said to the children, 'How can you so eat my fat? Find a sharp knife and I will make a spoon for you.' They discovered an old yet sharp knife and gave it to him, and he made a spoon for each child. 'Sit together and I will give to each good child a good spoon; to each bad child a bad spoon.' They sat down in a row. He struck each head once with the knife and the heads fell and lay in order. Charchakan made a bed and put the children's heads on it and covered them over with a blanket. He boiled the children's flesh and took it out of the pot and placed it on the table; next he scooped up the fat into a cup. He roasted the hearts and, having drawn them out, set them on the table. Then he dug a hole with a double entrance under the house and lay down in it.

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The glutton came and opened the door. 'Take,' he said, 'this fine fish.' But he did not see a single one of his children. 'Take it, boys!' he cried, but they did not hear. He entered and drew in the fine fish and scattered it about. The meat and fat had been cooked and placed on the table. He cut the meat and ate. 'Ha, ha!' said he, 'how if this should be my relatives' bodies!' He cut the fat and ate. 'Ha, ha!' he said, 'how if this should be my relatives' fat!' He cut the heart and ate. 'Ha, ha!' he said, 'of whose kindred can this be the heart? Boys and girls, get up!' he cried. But his sons and daughters still slept. The glutton grew angry and jumped up; he dragged off the blanket to look; the children's head had rolled together! He screamed and trembled and [273] trod the heads to pieces; he sat down and wept. 'What baseness! Charchakan! you have prowled about and deceived me; you have forced me to eat my own children! But I will reach you, Charchakan!' Charchakan answered outside, 'Oh!'

The glutton flew across the bed on the right side of the hut and, going out, cried, 'Charchakan!' 'Oh,' resounded within the house. The glutton flew across the house wall and, entering, said, 'Charchakan!' 'Oh,' answered Charchakan, outside. The glutton flew to the right of the house and, coming out, said, 'Charchakan!' 'Oh,' answered his enemy from within the house. The glutton flew to the left of the house and said, 'Charchakan!' 'Oh,' answered the voice outside. The glutton flew across to the threshold and once more cried, 'Charchakan!' 'Yes, it is I,' came the reply. 'Where are

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you?' 'I lie here; have you lost your eyesight?' 'Where are you lying?' A head came forth from the hole. 'Glutton, glutton! enter, enter!' said Charchakan. The glutton sought to enter, but stuck fast and began to fight; he could not get in, and only his head and neck entered. Having cut off the glutton's head with a sharp knife, Charchakan removed the flesh and scattered it as an offering to the Sun and Moon. That is all."

27: Coxwell--273-274 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut -1-2
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"FLYING BIRDS (1)

1. E. A. Khudyakov, Yakut Folk-Tales, p. 73.

[RCH: For the author's notes on this tale see category 539, p. 291.]

The flying birds which had bred in the Arctic Ocean shivered at the arrival of winter and prepared to die. Determining to select a leader, some said, 'Let the stork be our lord!' But the duck, Bogorgono, offered this objection: 'If we fly whenever he cries, we shall die!' Then a widgeon, championing the stork, got up and attempted to crush the duck, Bogorgono. The widgeon said, 'Of course the stork should be lord! Consider his impressive face and eyes and his full body!'

However, a swan proposed an eagle as the birds' chief. 'Shall we not choose for the ruler a being like the lord-eagle, the cruel possessor of eyes and a face that are wonderful?' They agreed and, having made the eagle their lord, took care that he should remain so till the present time. [274]

The eagle-lord sentenced the widgeon to carry the duck, Bogorgono, on his back, and called out: 'Which of my crew shall be consumed as my food?' For such a purpose they gave him the bullfinch, and said, 'As you fly backwards and forwards, eat him!'

They sent a teal to seek herbage, but though the teal sought and sought he could not find any. Then they sent a brown owl to discover some ground. The brown owl returned

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from his expedition, saying, 'I found land nowhere,' and lay down with his wife and seemed desirous of death. But the teal hid near the owl's home, listened and did not move. The brown owl said to his wife, 'Friend, I went to a fine place! I found an unfrozen sea, where everything is warm! Oh! what a fine land! warm and balmy and without any winter!' Having heard him out, the teal uttered a joyful cry and took to flight; he reported to the other birds, 'There is such a fine land!' On hearing the news, the flying creatures set off on the wing and reached warm countries.

The brown owl said, 'Old woman! preserve the down on your shin bones!' Because he had kept silent about the land the other birds forced him to winter in the region which lies between the Arctic Sea and the warm countries."

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"STORY OF THE MIGHTY HERO KEESE-SANYACH AND HIS SON THE HERO BARDAM-SANALACH (1)

1. From the Russian of The Living Past, 1891, No. 2, p. 170.

[RCH: For the author's notes on this tale see category 539, pp. 292-293.]

Not in heaven, and not on our poor earth, but in the happy region between heaven and earth, where reign eternal summer and day; where the sun never conceals himself, even for a minute, behind strange mountains; where no cold exists and water does not freeze and diminish; where people live without growing cold and without dying; where people only know of trouble and grief by hearsay, lived long ago a man called Keese-Sanyach. His riches were such as neither you nor I have seen in our dreams, and his wife, the daughter of a great lord, ruler of the middle under-heaven kingdom, was of an indescribable beauty not found on earth. [275]

Keese-Sanyach received, as his wife's dowry, a tree so high and branching that it threw shadows under which, during the sultry noontide, all the herd took refuge, while all the birds under heaven flew to the branches. His house was so large and solid, that neither whirlwind nor snowstorm nor time could injure it, and its doors were so heavy and great that ten men scarcely could open them; and Keese-Sanyach himself was not a young fellow of our sort, for eighty men such as ourselves could scarcely get the better -

of him.

Keese-Sanyach's herd was so numerous that once when he came to our earth on a starry night he thought, 'Which are the more numerous, the stars overhead or the cattle of my herd?' Although it would seem possible to live without grief or sorrow or fear, Keese-Sanyach was a man and had his grief and knew fear. He had heard that there dwell on our earth such good-for-nothings as often take what is not their own and come as uninvited guests; and he feared that somebody would steal his young wife, that marvel of beauty, and that the glance of some miscreant would fall on his wealth and defile it. He felt that a strange person penetrating his dwelling would bring him grief and misfortune. Jealousy and dread of losing his treasure gave him no rest night or day; he never took off his sables, did not let his heavy cane out of his hands, was always armed from head to foot and prepared for every accident.

What he dreaded occured. A certain hero-magician born on our earth, by name Khara-Chogoy, unconquered in battle, having heard of the riches and fame of Keese-Sanyach and of his beautiful wife, determined to visit him. No sooner thought of than done! Having transformed himself into a raven, he flew with terrible noise and whistling to Keese-Sanyach's dwelling. Arriving, he descended on to a golden tower so heavily that the strong tower cracked under the weight of the unexpected visitor. The raven looked in all directions, and a fearful snowstorm arose and brought from all sides mountains of snow and hail to the dominions of Keese-Sanyach. All the ground and the

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trees were hidden under an icy covering; and a third part of Keese-Sanyach's herd became the dinner of the terrible raven. Keese-Sanyach at this time was asleep. It was his custom to sleep three days at a time and then to remain three days awake. Hearing the noise and the blows outside, Keese-Sanyach's wife shuddered, and issued from the tent to learn what was happening. She saw an unprecedented [276] marvel; the earth and trees were buried in snow, fragments of the golden tower lay about, but the terrible raven was pitilessly devouring the herd.

When he saw her the raven remarked, 'Send your husband hither; I have business with him; send him quickly, for I am not accustomed to wait.' 'My lord Blue-black Raven!' said Keese-Sanyach's wife, asking for compassion, 'do not destroy me. My husband did not know that you would become our dear guest, and went on affairs to the north.' Hearing this, the raven rose like a black cloud and flew in the indicated direction to seek Keese-Sanyach, but however far he flew and however long he searched, he could not find him. With not a little vexation, he flew back and consumed another third of Keese-Sanyach's herd. 'Ah, you good for nothing!' the raven screamed to her from a field, 'you thought to deceive me and conceal your husband! Wait, I will find him, and as for you, my dear, I will unfailingly take you for myself; know that!'

In fear, Keese-Sanyach's wife again ran to him and said, 'Do not be angry, Lord Blue-black Raven! When you flew off my husband returned from the chase; but now he has gone again, and this time toward the south.' Hearing this, the raven flew again to to seek the ruler, but though he flew a long while, he returned empty handed, and the remaining portion of the herd became a prey to his gluttony. Having breakfasted, the raven flew once more in search and then Keese-Sanyach woke. His wife told him what had happened, and he was much frightened and said, 'Why did you not wake me earlier? Clearly the time has come to receive this uninvited guest!' The wife quickly prepared food for the journey and packed it up, and Keese-Sanyach, bidding farewell to her, mounted his horse and departed to meet the terrible raven on the road to four mountains.

Soon the raven returned and, even more than before, his eyes burned spitefully and, more than before, he dug with his iron claws. Not finding the master at home, he went for the third time to seek him. Keese-Sanyach's wife was expecting the birth of a child. She had given her husband all she possessed, and remained without provisions, had nothing to eat; for the herd had been eaten by the raven or destroyed by the storm, and, in the meanwhile hunger tortured her. In irresolution she went out of doors and thus pitifully besought her [277] relatives--her husband's father and mother: 'Ah, dear relatives, have mercy on me, a wretched orphan! I had a husband, but now surely he does not exist; we had a herd and wealth, but a terrible raven has destroyed everything. I know not what has happened to my poor husband; but this frightful raven has probably annihilated him, and I have nothing to eat, and I am with child! Remember me, dear ones, I am your near kinswoman.'

After this, sooner or later, but nevertheless on the same day, there was much

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disturbance in the middle country between the sky and the earth. Many clouds gathered over Keese-Sanyach's dwelling, and suddenly a multitude of horses and horned cattle appeared over a field; the sun lighted up as before, the fields became green and flowered anew, and the birds sang as light-heartedly as ever. Keese-Sanyach's wife now throve well and quickly bore a son, whom she called Bardam-Sanalach. The boy grew, not by days, but by hours, and towards the end of a year had become a strong and flourishing youth, who asked his mother his father's whereabouts and name? At first the mother was unwilling to tell the father's history to her son, but yielding to his questions, she acquainted the youth with her grief, and related how the terrible raven had gained a victory over them and how her relatives had endowed her afresh with riches. The son then asked his mother for a good horse and, mounting, informed her that he would go and seek his father. However much she asked him not to go, and however much she wept and prayed, the youthful hero would not relax from his intention, and set off toward the four mountains to find his father.

As he rode along he saw a terrible raven flying near one of the mountains and pursuing an old man. Bardam-Sanalach guess that the old man was none other than his father and that the raven was the hero-magician, Khara-Chogoy. He dismounted and cried to the raven, 'Ho there, audacious fellow! what glory is there in overcoming an old man? Your duty is to measure your strength with mine, I am younger and stronger than this old man.' Such audacity infuriated the raven, and he decided to punish the greenhorn. 'Well,' said he, 'I will discover without delay if you are as strong as you say.' The raven paused, and meanwhile the old man thanked his deliverer; promised his son, of whose relationship to himself he was ignorant, as a reward, half his possessions. [278]

The raven rested and then began the battle. He rose in the air as a thick cloud, so that the sky was invisible and from the noise and thunder the echoes awoke over the whole Yakut land. The combatants contended long without advantage to either side, but at last losing strength, they rolled on to the ground. Then Bardam-Sanalach, despairing of victory, returned to the sky, and sang, 'My famous grandfather! why do you live in the middle country? Help me to conquer a frightful miscreant! Thrust from heaven your spear into the jaws of this glutton, and so deliver me from immense shame, and perhaps even from death!' Scarcely had he spoken, when thunder reverberated and a spear as bright as lightning fell straight into the jaws of the raven, who was choking from malice, and who quickly perished.

Bardam-Sanalach burnt the raven's body, and the brilliancy of the raven's eyes disappeared. Putting away his spear into a bag (it was a folding spear), the youthful conqueror departed homewards. After going a short way he observed a hut unseen by him before; it aroused his wonder. He approached the hut and, peering through a chink, found that nobody was within. Letting his horse go free on the grass, Bardam-Sanalach hid in some bushes and watched to see if anyone should come to the hut. He lay for an

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hour, and for another hour, when suddenly out of a cleft in the moutain issued swiftly an enormous rat, which, having run to the cottage, was transformed into an old woman and entered. Stealing to a window, Bardam-Sanalach saw that the old woman dandled someone, and sang, 'Ba bye, ba bye; now a second, now a year; now a second, now a year! Five years, five ages!'

All at once the youth understood whom the old witch was dandling; he turned himself into a beggar and entered the hut. The old woman nursed the infant; but suddenly the glitter from its eyes reminded the hero of the terrible raven. The old woman recognised the intruder, and said, 'Fate has sent you to conquer our race! I am the sister of the chief hero, Khara-Chogoy, whom your grandfather's spear slew, but for myself and this infant I will give you a ransom. Are you agreeable?' 'Perhaps,' answered Bardam-Sanalach, 'I shall have no objection. But what ransom do you offer me?' 'Such a ransom,' answered the old woman, 'as you have never dreamed of; and I say in advance that you will be satisfied with it. Here is a small silk ball for you; throw it before you and go in whatever direction it rolls; time and circum-[279]stances will show you what you should do. Know this, you will grind iron with a stone, but you will not overcome me in battle; so do not think to offer me conditions, I do not like them; I am a powerful woman and have no lord and master.'

Bardam-Sanalach glanced at the old woman's flashing eyes and without a word took from her hands a ball and went out. Mounting his horse, he threw the ball in advance,

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and followed whithersoever it rolled. He went far, and at last saw before him a palace of pure silver. The ball vanished in the doors of the mansion. When the hero approached the entrance the enormous bolt of the doors moved before him and the door opened wide. He entered the palace and saw that on soft sable skins were sitting an old man and an old woman whose hair was white as snow. Directly the hero entered the host and hostess rose from their places and, bowing, begged him to be seated. 'Welcome, dear son-in-law, destined for our daughter! we have long awaited you!' A little later they led him to a special apartment and, placing him on a sable seat, entertained him with fat horse-meat and gave him the best kumyss to drink; afterwards they led their daughter to him and said, 'Fate has intended you for each other; live in affection and happiness!' The maiden was a marvel of mind and beauty and when the hero saw her he fell in love at once and agreed to marry her. According to custom, a feast began. At that time the Yakuts did not know wine, and drank with their meat kumyss, which they prepared better than we prepare it now. After the marriage had been thus completed the father-in-law said to the youth, 'Dear son-in-law, your father and mother are alive, but do not know that you are sound and well and even married. Doubtless they will rejoice to see you and your young wife. I have set aside for you the half of all my property; take it and set forth to comfort your relatives, who imagine a terrible raven has destroyed you, but the opposite occurred; not in vain does the proverb say, "Profit comes from harm!" The raven's sister pointed out ourselves and your wife to you.'

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The young hero went with the beauty, his wife, and the wealth which he had received to the paternal home. The old father seeing the approaching visitors, went out to meet them, but did not recognise his son. The hero said to him, 'I am he to whom you promised half your property when I delivered you from the claws of the raven.' [280]

The old man had heard from his wife of a son born in his absence, but had almost forgotten, as a long while had elapsed without this son's return. The old man could also with difficulty recall that someone somewhere had saved him from what seemed likely to be inevitable destruction. He called the guests into the house, and the old woman going out to see them, recognised her son and joyfully arranged a feast in his honour. Long did they drink rich kumyss and eat succulent horseflesh. Henceforward young and old lived peacefully and happily."

27: Coxwell--280-281 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-2
116, 539, 821

"WHY THERE ARE SPOTS ON THE MOON (1)

1. Ethnogr. Review of Moscow Univ., 1897, No. 3, p. 179.

[RCH: For the author's notes on this tale see category 539, p. 293.]

Once there lived an orphan girl who, after the death of her parents, had a small home. Remaining in her tent, she did no work and for a while lived on what she possessed. Next the prince of the nomad village, her distant relative living near by, took her into his home; not from pity, but from greed; there was plenty of work to be done in his house, and he hoped to obtain assistance without payment. The orphan worked without resting day or night, but instead of gratitude from the prince's wicked wife received only blows on the back of her neck.

On a certain moonlight night, when the frost turned people's breaths into ice, the orphan went for water to the neighbouring lake. Reaching an icehole, she broke through the ice with a pick, filled her bucket with water and started homewards. But not far from some huts she stumbled against a willow and fell and upset her bucket, so that all the water was spilt. The orphan stood and pondered what she should do. The cold began to freeze her whole body, but she could not go back, because the icehole was already closed with fresh ice, and to obtain more water she would have to hew another hole, a task beyond her strength. If she returned without water, she would be beaten by

27: Coxwell--280-281 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-2
116, 539, 821

the prince's wife. She stood and wept. Floating along the sky, the silvery Moon looked at the orphan girl, and was pleased with her beauty.

The orphan began to implore the Moon: 'Deliver me,' she said, 'white Moon, from the torments which I endure in my life upon earth. Here it is so cold and the prince's wife beats [281] me cruelly every day, and people are wicked; none of them will say a kind word to me.'

The Moon heard the girl's entreaty, fell at her feet and, seizing her by the waist, was about to take her to his home; but suddenly, at that very moment, the Sun also fell at her feet and wished to take her. A contest began between the Moon and the Sun, and the latter seemed the stronger, because he is considered an elder brother and the Moon is his younger brother. The Moon, overcome by the Sun, spoke thus: 'This orphan entreated not you but me; at night I, and not you, rule the universe, but you will reign to-morrow and can then consume the girl with heat; it is night now, and she belongs to me.'

The sensible Sun understood that the Moon's contention was just, and yielded up the orphan. The Moon took the girl home, together with the willow which she had grasped in her terror during the contest. The girl kept her buckets and the yoke on her shoulders, and she thus appears every night when it is bright. But when the orphan casts glances at the earth and sees the continuance of evil and injustice her face becomes gloomy. This story explains why there are dark spots on the Moon."

27: Coxwell--281-284 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-5
116, 539

"BLACK HAWK (1)

1. From the Russian of The Living Past, 1891, p. 174.

[RCH: For the author's notes on this tale see category 539, pp. 293-295.]

In ancient times and in the middle world there lived the hero, Black Hawk, who had a lovely sister called Shining Beauty. Their herd was innumerable. Once Black Hawk, having gone to water the herd, saw a stallion pursuing from the west an unknown grey mare. The mare seemed likely to have a foal before long, and he drove her into an enclosure. But the next day she was not to be seen, though in the centre of the place lay a black mass. When Black Hawk broke it open out of curiosity there issued forth from it something unusual, for the front part of the body was human while the hinder part resembled a foal; and all was of iron. Black Hawk asked its name and received no answer. He threw it, with a huge stone tied about the neck, into the river; but next day, having found it again and in the middle of the courtyard, he dug an enormous pit and therein lit a fire, and casting the monster thither, [282] burnt it under his eyes. Appeased by this act, Black Hawk went home and lay down to sleep. However, the next morning he could not find his sister, and became convinced that the monster had stolen her, so he saddled his wonderful black horse and rode westward.

He journeyed a long while and reached a black house. When he knocked his summons was answered by a demon's daughter with one eye in her forehead, with one leg and one arm, who, seeing Black Hawk, cried out, 'I have long sought on earth a young fellow who would be useful as a husband, but all my efforts hitherto have been in vain; now I know that my wooden god has sent him to me. I know that you, the hero, Black Hawk, have come to marry me. My name is Loud Voice, and you will pay my brother eighteen mares as a wedding gift.' Black Hawk concluding that if he refused the marriage she and her brother would eat him, collected eighteen mares and drove them to the sorcerer's home. Living with her, he went one day to the lake where he watered the herd, and saw a woman of unusual beauty issuing from the water. 'I am Khatchilan-Ko, the daughter,' she said, 'of eastern Soto-Toyen, and I have three brothers, the eldest of whom has ordered the demon-hero, Byeola Balkhan, to carry off your sister and marry her; and in exchange he has sent me to you. But you have a wife already, the daughter of a demon; put her to death, and then I will come to you.

Though Black Hawk begged the beauty to come to him from the water, she did not accede to his request, saying that she feared his wife. When he returned home it was already late, and his wife asked him where he had been detained so long? To which question he replied that he had been searching for a lost mare. The demons had so generously endowed Loud Voice with the gift of sagacity, that she knew already of the occurrence at the lake, and in revenge blew on Black Hawk's face when he slept, so that he lost feeling. Taking advantage of this, the female demon cut off one of his feet and fastened it to her body; took away his hand and fastened it to herself; removed from him an eye and attached it to herself, and then, tearing away the skin from her husband's face, put it on her own face and, assuming his garments, went to the lake of which we know. Arriving there, she cried, in her husband's voice, 'Come out now, my friend-for-ever! I have killed Loud Voice.' [283]

Hearing this, Khatchilan-Ko swam to the surface of the water, but when she appeared the demon's daughter thrust at her with a spear. Happily the wound was not mortal, and Khatchilan-Ko, turning herself into a lark, flew away eastwards. Loud Voice returning home, fastened anew parts of her husband's body to herself.

Waking early, Black Hawk, contrary to his usual custom, did not breakfast; he went at once to the lake, which he found covered with blood and, having guessed the cause, did not go home, but set off eastwards. The demon-hero met him on the way; and Black Hawk having talked with him, learnt that this hero was a messenger from Soto-Toyen to him, Black Hawk, with the news that his appointed wife, Katchilan-Ko, was dying from the wound inflicted by the demon's daughter, Loud Voice, and asked if he, Black Hawk, lived far away. Black Hawk answered it would be necessary for the messenger to cover such and such a distance, and hurried toward the east still quicker. When he arrived he visited his bride, Katchilan-Ko, who was scarcely alive.

Turning to the sky, Black Hawk cried, 'My father! sitting on the white stone, Ay-Toyen, listen to me attentively! Let my request resound like the neighing of a young colt in your ears, which are like two moons. She who promised to become my wife, with whom I ought to live for ever, is dying! I pray you to send your shaman to cure her.' This prayer had scarcely sounded when from the east there blew a warm and pleasant wind and some heavy rain fell and it thundered and lightened. Like the skin of a white horse, there hung in the sky a white cloud, out of which, in full shaman's clothing, three shamans descended and, flying over the sick woman, shamanized for three whole days--at the end of which time the patient recovered and the shamans flew away to the heavenly dwelling.

Soto-Toyen got ready a magnificent banquet, to which heroes and a number of people came from all sides. At this feast Black Hawk distinguished himself by his skill. Soto-Toyen, wishing to marry his youngest son to Tender-as-milk, the daughter of the eagle, begged Black Hawk to arrange the wedding. Black Hawk undertook the task and immediately departed to the eagle. When he arrived he saw an unusual assemblage of guests, and learnt that the heavenly hero, Byokasty, had descended from the sky in order to marry Tender-as-milk. Byokasty had ninety demon-heroes in his suite, but [284] Black Hawk engaged and vanquished them in battle. Seeing the defeat of his warriors, Byokasty ran, and Black Hawk, taking advantage of the situation, carried off the beauty to his father-in-law's house, where a rich wedding followed.

Black Hawk returned with his young wife, Katchilan-Ko, to his own home, where he found the messenger whom he met on his first journey to his father-in-law. This messenger had worked in the house during his stay, and to him Black Hawk gave his one-

27: Coxwell--281-284 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-5
116, 539

legged wife, and the pair became Black Hawk's slaves. From the second marriage of Black Hawk arose a numerous progeny, the ancestors of the present Yakuts."

27: Coxwell--284-285 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut -1-2
116, 539

"DYOUDUS (1)

1. Ethnogr. Review of Moscow Univ., 1900, No. p.3 183.[sic]

[RCH: For the author's notes on this tale see category 539, p. 295.]

In Bostonsky, a nomad village in the Yakut territory, there lived a prince named Dyoudus, who had four wives. Every year, at the beginning of summer, Dyoudus invited visitors and had a feast. When all the guests had arrived he ordered his wives to appear as their mothers bore them; then he removed his clothes and requested his guests, without respect of sex or age, to do likewise; if anyone did not obey him such person was beaten cruelly. Children born afterwards knew not who were their fathers. At the termination of these feasts Dyoudus commanded that live stallions and bulls should have their hides removed, and then be admitted to the stalls of mares and cows.

If it happened that Dyoudus' labourers were not able to mow a sufficient quantity of hay, he summoned shamans and ordered them to beg Tangar, the chief deity residing in the seventh heaven, to send reapers. But, as Tangar did not supply the reapers, Dyoudus beat the shamans. Once Dyoudus wished to marry his son to the daughter of Khora-Raven (who dwelt in heaven) and to give his daughter in marriage to Khora-Raven's son. But Dyoudus' wishes, conveyed to the Raven through shamans whose backs soon suffered severely, were not satisfied; since Khora, the Raven, was unwilling to ally himself with

27: Coxwell--284-285 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-2
116, 539

Dyoudus.

At last a certain shaman was found who shamanized for a [285] period of nine days. The shamanistic process was, on this occasion, successful, and Khora the Raven agreed to send down his son and daughter from heaven, the pair travelling to Dyoudus by the aid of raven-horses. Leaving the horses in the courtyard, the son and daughter entered the house where Dyoudus was living, passed near the fire-place on not the right side, but the left, like evil spirits. When Dyoudus saw his visitors he begged them to depart to a distance, but they did not obey, and everyone in the house slept."

27: Coxwell--285-287 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-4
116, 539

"CONCERNING AL-IOT, THE SPIRIT OF FIRE (1)

1. *The Living Past*, 1891, p. 70.

Until the arrival of the Tunguses, who pushed the Yakuts nearer the Northern Sea (Baikal is for them the South Sea), the Yakuts thought that besides themselves there were no other people on earth; land began at the upper part of the Lena and finished at its outlet; that was the end. People, that is the Yakuts, at first had no knowledge of fire; they ate everything raw and suffered much from cold, for no good spirits taught them to get fire from stone.

The discovery of fire occurred thus: On a hot summer day an old man who was wandering among the mountains sat down to rest and, having nothing to do, struck one stone against another. Sparks issued from the blow and set alight the dry grass and next dry twigs. The fire extended, and people ran from all parts to gaze at the novel wonder. The further it spread the larger it became and the more the fire bred fear and horror; but fortunately it was extinguished by a downpour of rain. Henceforth the Yakuts learned to kindle fire and to extinguish it. The Yakuts worship fire as a stupendous force; and whenever any sacrifice is offered, they sacrifice in the first place to fire; they give a spoonful of all food to the fire. Thus they throw into it a portion of the first spring kumyss; they worship Al-Iot everywhere.

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116, 539

There are many stories of the honours paid to fire. A certain Mark, on the way to his father-in-law, visited an acquaintance, Vasily. Guests must always be entertained, and if the host has nothing then a pipe should be smoked or a pinch of [286] snuff taken, but on this occasion there was supper. Mark was astonished that his hostess, when getting ready the food, did not, according to the usual custom, pour from the kettle into the fire; and therefore, honouring the fire on his own account, he threw into it a spoonful from the cup served to him at the table. At night Mark woke and, looking across the weak, smouldering light, saw a thin weasened boy sitting at the chimney hearth. The man observed him constantly and heard him say complainingly, 'I have lost flesh here; nobody gives me food; I am always hungry and you were the first to give me a spoonful of gruel. I will do you a good turn for this. Listen to me; depart quickly and you will see that something will happen!' Mark shuddered and, after brief consideration, went away without bidding farewell to his host. He looked round; Vassily's hut was enveloped in flames.

At Matthew Korshook's home a little of what was being cooked was given, by unfailing custom, as its share, to the fire; on which account he prospered; thus his cows calved earlier than other people's, his sour milk was thicker and his butter tasted better.

Old Paul also lived well merely because he did not forget Al-Iot and sacrificed to him. Al-Iot always swept his courtyard, took away the litter in the stalls, walked after his calves and foals and plaited his horses' manes. Paul used to see a little old man with a broom in his hands, who walked along the courtyard and cleaned up the dirt with a spade

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116, 539

and cast the cattle's litter into the window of the stall; and when, after milking the cows, Paul poured the milk into birchwood buckets and put the buckets in the ice-house and went to sleep at the end of his labours, the little old man would go into the cellar and pour the milk from one vessel into another; from this reason, in Paul's belief, his cream was thicker and tastier than others.

Ivan Khooch was going homewards out of a Yakut town when a storm overtook him, so he called to pass the night at the nearest hut. Removing his bags and saddle and placing them under his head, he fell asleep and saw in a dream that a grey-haired old man walked backwards and forwards in the hut. This old man approached Ivan and said, 'I shall come and live with you.' At these words something began to move in the bag under Ivan's head. He woke and jumped from the couch, while a mouse ran out of the bag and, terrified in its [287] turn by a glimpse of Ivan, rushed again into the bag. Ivan understood that the spirit which had promised to come and live with him existed in the form of a mouse. He sat shrivelled up all night in the middle of the hut, and feared to move; but when his host and hostess woke he grew bolder, even began to cough and altogether forgot his desire to sleep. When they arose from their beds he drew the bag to the middle of the hut and turned out all that was in it. He expected to thrust out the mouse, but found only his own things in the bag. He put them back and, without staying for breakfast, rode home. Arriving towards evening and entering his hut, he placed the bag on his bed and

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116, 539

sat down near the chimney. Suddenly the bag moved and an enormous mouse climbed out and ran hastily under the fireplace. Sometime later Ivan learnt that the hut in which he had passed the night stood unoccupied; the owner had left it because, however often he kindled a fire on the hearth, it was always quickly extinguished."

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116, 539

[RCH: The following is the author's own comment on the tale "The Little Old Woman with Five Cows" in category 539, pp. 262-269.]

"The magical horse in this story makes an extremely long speech to the young khan. But he is only one of several of his kind, others being the eight-legged horse in the Buryat, 'The Old Water-sprite,' who warns his master of danger and continues running on only two legs; the horse of the Deathless Skeleton-man, in the Russian, 'Prince Ivan and Princess Maria,' who not only speaks, but performs wondrous deeds, if fed exactly as he demands; the horse in the Gagaüzy, 'Concerning the Sun,' who eats hot embers; and the horse in the Russian, 'Water of Life and Death,' who drinks up a stream of running water."

27: Coxwell--287-288 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-2

116, 171, 539

"The plant mentioned early in the present story [RCH: see category 539, pp. 262-269] proves, as the story proceeds, to have been a maiden from heaven, who came to earth as a crane. Later the plant is turned again to a maiden, the heroine of the story. In the Russian story, 'The Fiend,' a girl, who not only is deprived of her relatives but who loses her own life at the hands of a fiend, because she persist [sic] in telling him an untruth, is reanimated as a flower which eventually changes into the maiden's form. Transmutation of [288] a human being into a plant or flower occurs elsewhere. In a German story a maiden is turned into a flower. A huntsman says, 'Father, will you see the maiden who brought me up so tenderly and who was afterwards to murder me, but did not do it, though her own life depended on it?' The king replied, 'Yes, I would like to see her.' The son said, 'Most gracious father, I will show her to you in the form of a beautiful flower,' and he thrust his hand in his pocket and brought forth a pink. Then the flower was changed into the beautiful maiden. (1) Another tale of the kind is the

1. Grimm, No. 76.

modern Greek, 'The Laurel Child'. (2) The classical example of Daphne, who was saved

2. Hahn, No. 21.

27: Coxwell--287-288 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-2
116, 171, 539

from Apollo's embrace by being turned into a laurel, will occur to everyone. Other kinds of transformation are common in these tales. In the Yukaghir, 'Tale of a Fabulous Old Man,' a youth, previously a tooth, is turned into a pair of boots, and in the Kirghiz, 'Fight between Father and Son,' the hero becomes a mountain. Some of the most curious transformations are those of curses into a camel and an ass (Altaian,) and of the sun's wife into a black-beetle (Chukchi). A man is changed into a needle in the Ostyak, 'Aspen-leaf,' in the Bashkir, 'The Water Nymph,' and in the Russian, 'Helen the Fair'; and a girl is changed to a lamp in the Chukchi, 'Tale of the Moon'; a girl becomes a spindle in a Lapp story. But by far the commonest transmutations are into animals; thus, a devoted brother and sister become at death two little birds in the forest (Kumuk); and the young mother, who being turned by a witch into a lynx, returns to human form on hearing her infant cry (White Russian). It is comparatively common for a human being in these folk-tales to become a bird (Kalmuck, Buryat, Ossetian, Bashkir, Mordvin, Yakut, Kumuk, Samoyede), or a horse (Kalmuck, Mordvin, Esthonian, Finn, Votyak), or even an ass (Kalmuck, Ossetian) or a bear (Lapp, Russian), or a dog (Mordvin, Ossetian)."

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116, 171, 539

"The imposter-bride in this story is given so extravagantly repulsive an appearance as to bring home to us the difference in taste and mental outlook between the Mongol-Turkish races of Eastern Siberia and ourselves. When she places another person's skin upon her face, the incident is more realistically described than a somewhat similar incident in the German story, 'The Goose-girl.' Her iron tongue recalls 'The Woman with an Iron Tail,' in one of Rasmussen and Worster's [289] Eskimo Folk-Tales. But the ancient Indian stories contain many horrible descriptions of rakshasas. That a devil's daughter of such characteristics should pass herself off as a khan's bride is an indication of the irrationality creeping into some folk-tales. In the Bashkir story, 'Aleyka,' a young wife has her clothes stolen by her child's nurse, and in consequence flies away as a goose. The nurse tells the husband that his wife was drowned, and before long he marries her. In the Mordvin story, 'The Wicked Girl,' a girl takes away her mistress' clothes, and at the end of the journey (the pair are proceeding on a visit) passes herself off as her mistress, and is so received on account of her fine raiment. When her crime is discovered the culprit is punished, as in the Yakut tale, by being fastened to the tail of a horse. In 'The Goose-girl' the action is much the same, though less simple. A young bride is sent with her maid to the bridegroom The maid forces the mistress to quench her thirst at the water's edge, and seeing that the mistress has become weak through loss of a talisman, makes her exchange garments, mounts her mistress' horse and, at the journey's end, passes as the bride. Eventually all is set right and the maid

27: Coxwell--288-289 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-2
116, 171, 539

suffers a cruel death. (1)

1. Grimm, No. 86."

27: Coxwell--289 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 171, 539, 772

"The wedding sports at the end of the story [RCH: see category 539, pp. 262-269; for other Yakut tales mentioned see category 539, pp. 281-285] are remarkable. They were attended by ancestral dwellers from the upper regions, the air, and by ancestral dwellers from the regions below ground. But such details are less astonishing if viewed in the light of the Yakut story, 'Black Hawk.' There shamans are sent from heaven, and a super-natural hero descends from heaven with ninety demon heroes. So again in 'Dyoudus' there is close communication with heaven. Shamans come from heaven in the Yukaghir, 'The Shaman.' In the Chukchi, 'A Folk-Tale,' there is an allusion to a higher people living in a small, dark, separate country."

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116, 171, 539, 825

"At the end of the fourth Samoyede story there occurs an account of a seven days' journey through the air; while in the Chukchi, 'Tale of a Dead Head,' there is a visit of a family to the higher regions; and in the Lapp 'Cap of Invisibility,' a journey is taken to the stars. With such movements of living persons through vast spaces of air it is natural that ancestral spirits should reside above as well as below ground.

It is not only among the Yakuts that a myth exists concerning a heavenly crane. Among the Ainus the crane is of [290] much importance and is worshipped. According to a legend, a crane came down from heaven, and one day, in the absence of the parent bird, people determined to obtain the young ones from the nest in order to offer a sacrifice. They took not only the young, but the garments found neatly folded beneath them. 'Some hunters say that even now clothes may be found in the nests of cranes.'"

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116, 539

[RCH: The following is the author's own comment on the tale "Charchakan" in category 539, pp. 270-273.]

"Despite a gruesome termination, the playful style and fantastic exaggerations of this tale suggest that it is intended for Yakut children. The Kalmuck story, 'The Orphan Bosh and his Whistling Arrow, Tosh,' begins in a similar light-hearted manner. The level of taste being somewhat low among Siberian races, permits of allusions unpleasant to Western ears, and even the Russian tales offend occasionally in this respect. But lovers of folk-tales cannot afford to be squeamish about trifles. The hide and seek episode, recalls a similar one in the Chukchi, 'Tale of the Moon.' The descriptive names of Charchakan's men are comparable to the appellations Beakerman and Trencherman, Oak-twister and Mountain-leveller of Russian stories, but are more realistic. Of another sort are the Ostyak name, 'Restless and Active as an Aspen-leaf'; the Yakut, 'Tender as Milk'; and the Gilyak, 'Son-of-the-Mother-of-Water.' So in Grimm's story, 'The Six Servants,' there is a certain 'Stout One' and another 'Tall One.'

The painful surprise of the glutton and his wife when they found Charchakan was not in the bag, which had been brought home by the glutton, is like that of the peasant and his wife in the Russian story, 'Little Sister and the Wolf,' when they learnt that the sleigh contained no dead vixen from which to obtain a fur collar. Gluttony is a subject not limited to this tale, thus Atdlarneq was a great Eskimo glutton. But once, under pain of being thrashed, he was made to eat a sackful of fish and the blubber from half a

27: Coxwell--290 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-2
116, 539

black seal. After that he felt very well indeed and slept and went home. Cannibalism is briefly treated in a Note to the Yukaghir, 'A Folk-Tale.'"

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116, 539

[RCH: The following is the author's own comment on the tale"Flying Birds" in category 539, pp. 273-274.]

"Siberian folk-tales not infrequently deal with animals. Thus there is 'The Man and the Wolf,' a Buryat story in which a wolf has a terrible contest with a man, and the Chukchis have a tale concerning a fox and a wolf. The Kirghiz possess a tale about a fox and other beasts, and there is the story of 'The Friendly Animals,' among the Yellow Ugurs, in which a kite, a fox and a wolf agree to live together, and swear allegiance to each other before the gods.

'Flying Birds' has a parallel in Panchatantra, in which we read that the peacocks and all the other birds held a large public meeting; they said that Garuda (the Brahmany kite) could not protect them and did not know how to govern. One bird wished to choose a king from among the owls, but a crow objected, and said that through Garuda's rule power had been gained, etc.

In a German story birds determined to choose a ruler, and only one bird, the green plover, opposed the project. All the birds assembled, and it was decided that whichever bird flew highest should be ruler. When the trial was made the eagle flew higher than any other bird, except a small bird which had hidden in the eagle's breast, and dared to cry out 'I am king.' The other birds were so enraged at the small bird's audacity that they placed an owl to keep watch over a mouse-hole where he had hidden; they determined to starve him to death. The owl closed both eyes, and the small bird escaped and only

27: Coxwell--291 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-2
116, 539

flies at night for fear of his life. The lark was pleased because she did not have to obey the little king. (2)

2. Grimm, No. 171. The Willow-Wren.

In a Flemish tale, called 'The King of the Birds,' the eagle assembled all the birds that they might elect a king of their own in place of the lion. The eagle thought the strongest flier should rule; the nightingale favoured the sweetest singer. The peacock, the turkey and the ostrich had their opinions. The eagle settled that the contest should be decided by power of flight; but the golden crested wren, by riding on the eagle's back, always outdistanced the eagle when the latter came to rest. The wren took refuge in a hole in a tree and the owl failed to prevent the prisoner's escape."

27: Coxwell--292 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 539

[RCH: The following is the author's own comment on the tale "The Story of the Mighty Hero Keese-Sanyach and his Son" in category 539, pp. 274-280.]

"The voracious raven, who ate a third part of Keese-Sanyach's herd at a meal, is comparable, in appetite, with the eagle in the Russian story, 'The Sea-king and Vasilissa the Wise.' This eagle belongs to the category of grateful animals; he carries a tsar in flight to the thrice ninth land and assists him wonderfully. But long before the eagle so behaves it consumes, year after year, the tsar's sheep and cows, so that the tsar has finally to borrow small beasts of his neighbours. The eagle sent by Zeus to devour the liver of the captive Prometheus daily was able to renew his meal because the liver grew again during the night."

27: Coxwell--292-293 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-2
116, 171, 539, 772

"Accessibility of the upper regions, or heaven, is common to Chukchi, the Ostyak, the Samoyede and the Lappish tales. But if we may judge from the present story, [RCH: see category 539, pp. 274-80] the Yakuts make a special feature of a middle region between earth and heaven, where climatic conditions are perfect and life is a perpetual delight. In 'The Little Old Woman' ancestral spirits from an upper region attended wedding festivities on earth.

The raven, who dwelt in heaven, as related in the Yakut story 'Dyoudus', agreed to send his son and daughter from heaven that they might form alliances with Dyoudus' daughter and son. The pair travelled by the aid of raven horses, a mode of conveyance mentioned in the Russian, 'Tale of a Goat.' In the Russian story, 'Golden Mountain,' ravens carry the carcase of a horse and a man inside it to the summit of a mountain, but in the Bashkir version the task is performed by an eagle.

Such a legend as the 'Story of the Mighty Hero Keese-Sanyach and his Son' is an instance of the heroic tales whose cult is shared by the Altaians, the Kirghiz and others. It is true that side by side with this story there can exist such a tale as 'Dyoudus,' which contains coarse and barbarous details. Similarly, the Chukchis have poetical, though irrational, tales at the same time as they possess certain stories necessarily excluded from this book The mind of the Siberian barbarian appears full of contradictions to those who have advanced beyond him. Meanwhile, the Yakuts can call a maiden 'Tender

27: Coxwell--292-293 B-3 (no date) 1925 / Yakut -2
116, 171, 539, 772

as Milk,' and the Ostyaks can name a hero, 'Active and Restless as an Aspen-leaf,' an Esthonian hero (who had once mated with a chicken) can be summoned to desist from re-[293]moving a stone by flowers, bushes, trees and birds; and a Chukchi can liken tears to gently falling rain."

27: Coxwell--293 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 539, 821

[RCH: The following is the author's own comment on the folk-tale "Why There Are Spots on the Moon" in category 539, pp. 280-281.]

"As in many Siberian and Sub-Arctic tales, the Sun and Moon are treated as familiar objects or persons. In Yakut and Chukchi tales both the Sun and Moon are male. This story is fuller and more poetical than the other versions [RCH: *e.g.*, Buryat and Tungusian], and is the only one which makes mention of a willow. We get here a graphic picture of life in an intensely cold climate."

27: Coxwell--293-295 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-3
116, 539, 58

[RCH: The following is the author's own comment on the folk-tale "Black Hawk" in category 539, pp. 281-284.]

"Marriage 'by capture' is not unrepresented in Siberian folk-tales. There are signs of it in Koryak myths. In the Altaian story, 'Aymanys,' a bride is gained by violence. She agrees to marry if her wooer can conquer her in single combat, but he fails and she succumbs only after a long contest with the friend who battles on his behalf. Then she becomes a good wife. In 'Black Hawk' the fighting is done by a hero to aid his brother-in-law; he overcomes the bride's numerous defenders and snatches her from a would-be husband. In the circumstantial account of Bashkir marriage customs, to be found further on, it becomes clear that the swain may have to invite, or rely on, help from the girl's friends, if he finds the task of winning her too great. Thus it would seem, at all events in these tales, that marriage by capture may be something other than an expedition by a solitary warrior setting out and seizing a woman and dragging her to his home. In practice, assistance was requisite.

A not infrequent allusion is to be found to marriage by purchase. The Yakut demon's daugher, Loud Voice, informs the husband whom she covets that he will have to pay her brother eighteen mares as a wedding gift. In the Bashkir tale, 'The Deceiver,' money is paid to a matchmaker and handed by her to the maiden's father. In the Yakut story, 'The Little Old Woman with Five Cows,' the bridegroom makes a rich wedding gift to his bride's only parent, her mother. In the Ostyak, 'The Hunter and the Seven-headed

27: Coxwell--293-295 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-2
116, 539, 58

Satyr,' the elk and reindeer hunter receives the youngest of the [294] governor's daughters as wife, 'without being asked for any payment.' Among the Yukaghirs, we are told, the match-maker settles how many reindeer are to be paid by the bride-groom's father as purchase money, and how many reindeer and sledges the maiden brings as dowry.

In the Kirghiz, 'Three Sons' a glimpse is obtained of the custom by which the marriage is consummated in the house of the bride's parents. In the Ethnography of the Bashkirs it is stated that it still sometimes obtains that the husband only takes his wife to his home after several years. In some of the Yukaghir clans the wedding ceremony is simple; a girl's sweetheart is considered to have married her if he brings his gun and bow and hunting equipment when he visits her tent at night. Among the tundra Yukaghirs, the future son-in-law works on probation for a year or two in his future father-in-law's house. The bride's seclusion is alluded to in the Yakut, 'Little Old Woman,' and in the Chukchi story, 'The Young Shaman and his Bride,' the husband says to his wife, when visitors are expected, 'Only let your hand be seen, only your wrist.'

Among the lowest races, such as the Gilyaks, the Samoyedes, the Chukchis and Lapps, the tales do not mention any marriage festivity or celebration, but with the less primitive, and even with the Yakuts, the wedding is accompanied by feasting and games and a holiday of phenomenal duration. In the Kirghiz story, 'Kara Kos Sulu,' the wedding festivities lasted forty days, and the Kirghiz hero, Kysil-batyr, had a long wedding. In the Yakut, 'Little Old Woman,' the celebrations were not only of immense length,

27: Coxwell-293-295 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-3
116, 539, 58

but attended by numerous ancestral spirits, both from the air and from below ground. The tales imply a state of things in which divorce is to be had by the husband at will, and the khan is depicted as able to please himself freely in the matter of taking wives.

Marriage with a witch may mean union with a woman capable of being eventually converted into a beauty of good character, as in the Great Russian, 'The Sorceress'; or it may mean that the wife is much like other women, except that she practises witchcraft, as in the White Russian, 'The Sorceress.' On the other hand, in Siberian stories the witch is apt to display physical repulsiveness, as in Yellow Ugur story, 'Marriage of a Youth and a Witch'; or to become murderous and strangely unnatural, as when in the Bashkir, 'The Witch [295] or Sorceress,' she swallows first a horse and then a cart, and finally eats her daughter-in-law! But marriage may be still more uncomfortable; thus, Black Hawk's first wife (a demon's daughter) removed, during his sleep, parts of his body and used them to supply the deficiencies of her own body. Though perhaps the fantastically hideous demon's daughter, who became the false bride in the Yakut, 'Little Old Woman,' could scarcely figure in any Russian story, yet the Slav imagination is capable of horrors, for in 'Prince Ivan and Princess Maria,' maidens are married to husbands who sometimes assume the form of twenty- and thirty-headed snakes, and in a Lithuanian tale girls are mated to six or nine-headed dragons."

27: Coxwell--295 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 539

[RCH: The following is the author's own comment on the tale "Dyoudus" in category 539, pp. 284-285.]

"A collection of tales from such a vast land as Siberia, populated by primitive or semi-civilised races, may be expected to offer instances of polygamy and polyandry. Whether promiscuity in sexual relations was ever widespread among the human race seems doubtful, but there is occasional latitude among some of the northern Siberian races, as when, for instance, hospitality is offered to men travelling with herds. This tale gives a glimpse of sensual freedom said to characterise love feasts among certain Russian sectaries. The story is another instance of the adherence of the Yakuts to shamanism, and of their belief that a region between earth and heaven is inhabited. The deity Tangar resides in the seventh heaven. Some of the Armenians believe in seven heavens."

45: Lesseps--308 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 539

"The two following fables were translated for me by Golikoff, word for word.

There arose one day in a large lake, a violent contest between the different species of fish. The question was the establishment of a tribunal of supreme judges, whose business it should be to govern the whole finny tribe. The herring, and most diminutive fish, conceived that they had as much right to the prerogative as the salmon. From one thing to another the dispute became so warm that the small fish united in a body against the large, who took advantage of their weakness to insult and persecute them. Hence intestine and bloody wars that end in the destruction of one of the two parties. The vanquished, who escaped from being killed, fled to the small canals, and left the large fish, who had the victory, masters of the lake. Such is the law of the strongest."

45: Lesseps--308-310 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut-1-2
116, 539

"The other fable bears a greater resemblance to our old women's tales, with which children are terrified, and the tediousness of a rustic evening beguiled. I should be apt to suspect that it was the production of a chaman [309]

A Yakout had failed in respect, or done some injury to his chaman. The devil, to avenge the latter, transformed himself into a cow; and, having mixed in the herd, contrived, while it was feeding by the side of a wood, to steal the finest heifers. In the evening when the herdsman returned, his enraged master ascribed all the loss to his negligence, and drove him from his house. Immediately the devil appeared in the dress of a herdsman, an agreement was made, and the next day he drove the cows to field. One, two days passed, and the Yakout saw nothing of his herd. In his distress he went with his wife, searched everywhere for his cows, and at last found them - but in what disorder! Upon his approach they began to skip and dance to the sound of the flute (1) of the persidious herdsman. The master stormed and raved. 'Hold there,' said the devil to him. 'It well becomes thee indeed, who hast abused the confidence

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1. The instrument which I here style a flute, [RCH: a flute referred to in a Yakut fable; see category 539, pp. 308-9]is a bone hollowed and fashioned somewhat like our flûtes à l'oignon, and its tone is not less acute.

45: Lesseps--308-310 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut--2
116, 539

of the most respectable of chamans, to accuse me of stealing thy herd. May this serve thee as a lesson, and teach thee to give to every man that which belongs to him.' Upon this the herd and the herdsman disappeared, and the poor Yakout lost all his property.

The place where this scene passed, has since that time been considered as the abode of infernal spirits. The incredulous scruple not to assert that the devil who stole the [310] cows, was no other than the chaman himself; but such is the simplicity of the honest Yakouts, that they feel a repugnance at this suspicion, and treat it as horrible blasphemy."

538 of certain favorite heroes (Khan-Dzhargystay, Nyurgun Bootur, Bert-Khara, "The White Boy"); some of these cycles are so long that it takes several days on end to tell them. There were special storytellers called *олонхоhут'и* to recite these poems. A good storyteller was much respected among the people. He had to possess a wonderful memory, since he had to know by heart hundreds of thousands of verses; he had to have a poetic flair and at the same time a good voice and a musical ear, since the poems were partly intoned. The performance of the poems was a subject of special study. It was the custom to be as hospitable as possible to the storyteller, and many people would gather to listen to him. Sometimes the poems would be declaimed by several storytellers together, who to some extent or other dramatized the story, dividing the main roles among themselves; one sang the role of the hero, another the role of his adversary, while the third undertook the [178] narrative part of the poem. The knowledge and narration of these poems was fast declining by the beginning of the 20th century, and there were fewer and fewer good storytellers of this kind; the collective singing of poems died out almost completely.

Alongside the epic poem, there were various historical Yakut legends called *билирги сэhэннэр* ("Tales of Old Times"), or *өбүгэ сэhэннэрэ* ("Tales of Ancestors"). The themes in them dealt with genuine historical events and their heroes were historical personages; it stands to reason that both types were greatly modified and embellished with legendary motifs; the legends abound in anachronisms and it is impossible to relate them to any definite period without comparison with documentary sources. The latter show that there is usually a grain of truth in the legends. The best known are the stories of the "Yakut tsar" Tygyn (who was in actual fact a Kangalas toyon, living in the 17th century) and his rival Lëgëy (a Borogon toyon of the same period). There is most likely some historical truth as well in the widespread legends of the Yakut progenitors, Omokhoye and Elleye, who sailed by way of the Lena from the south; the legends, incidentally, are mainly to be found among the Yakuts from the Lena-Amga ulusy and are less known on the Vilyuy and in the northern regions.

The Yakut fairytales in verse are also colorful and interesting, particularly those about animals (they are called ostoruya from the Russian word "istoriya" (history), or kepsen. As distinct from the epics, these fairytales are not sung, but narrated; their language is quite different, and is simpler and more down to earth.

539 We should also point out the numerous and highly varied proverbs, sayings (*өс хоhооно*) and riddles (taabryn), which are at times extremely clever and neat. Here are some examples: "There is a silver dish floating in the middle of the sea" (the sun); "in the evening my mother gave birth, in the morning I gave birth to my mother" (freezing and melting of ice); "four children make the bed" (a horse's hooves); "it is said that snow falling on a tree stump does not melt" (gray hair); "two people are fighting with sticks on two sides of a little lake" (eyelids); "Mother roars and the little child runs away" (a gun and a bullet); "it is said that a giant thief stalks underground" (fishing net). Here are some examples of sayings and proverbs: "A hand does not move away from a sore place nor does one take one's eyes from one's beloved"; "a silent person is always regarded as a clever person"; "need whips the vine more painfully"; "the tree will not shake without the wind" (there's no smoke without fire); "a rich man is never satisfied with his own riches"; "this demon is only human in that he eats food" (said of rich people); and many others.